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VIEWS

OF

IRELAND,

MORAL, POLITICAL, AND

RELIGIOUS.

By JOHN O'DRISCOL, Esq.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

	Page
Dublin	1
University. — Learned Institutions	9
Education	16
Benevolent Societies	72
Ecclesiastical History	84
Ancient Church of Ireland	98
College of Maynooth	111
Catholic Board — Popular Assemblies	119
Orange Societies	127
Corporations. — Grand Juries	136
Tenures	147
Absentees	160
The Union	178
The Rebellion	199
Separation	225
Peace	245
Whigs, Tories, Radicals	271
The Gentry	295
Subscriptions in Great Britain for the Relief of Irish Distress	314
Appendix	323

VIEWS OF IRELAND.

DUBLIN.

FEW empires boast three such capitals as London, Edinburgh, and Dublin. The prevailing spirit of the great metropolis, as of the great nation, of which it is the chief city, is mercantile; that of Edinburgh, literary and medical; of Dublin, political and legal. The great political questions, which, for ages, agitated Ireland, and are still unsettled, have made her capital the theatre of politics and faction; the Union, which withdrew the legislature, gave to the profession of the law a decided preponderance in society.

It might have been thought that, at least, this advantage would have accrued from the Union, that shaking off the fangs of faction, Dublin would have devoted herself to literature and science; but the people of Ireland were disappointed in this, as in all other, the promised ad-

vantages of that measure. Dublin continues to be the seat of faction, though it is no longer the dwelling-place of those great interests which relieve faction of its meanness, and cover all its deformities. The capital of Ireland did not become, as Edinburgh, a school of medicine, or a school of any thing; its rich and splendid college did not make it literary; this great establishment was dumb; and so jealous was it that no earthly sound should be heard in its halls, that silence was imposed upon the exercises of its youth, lest some infant genius should disturb the profound repose of timid and conscious dulness. The Historical Society, which had existed so long, and in times of so much political agitation, has been suppressed since the Union.

Strangers, in Dublin, are struck with the elegance and beauty of the streets, and the taste and grandeur of the public buildings, and the fine and fortunate disposition of the whole. This ancient city stretches along both banks of the Liffey, and opens her bosom to the ocean, forming the far-famed and beautiful bay which bears her name. On one side, she is girt with the rich fields of Meath; and on the other, encompassed with the wild and lovely scenery of Wicklow. There is no city more happily placed, or combining greater or rarer advantages.

In Dublin, since the extinction of the legislature, though the law has become the ruling profession, it has lost, otherwise, much of its importance; it is now no more than a means of making money: it was, formerly, the highway to fame; the road which genius took to reach its natural elevation, those heights where wisdom and virtue laboured for the weal of their native land.

The law requires more commanding talent, and more boldness of character to attain to eminence, than the profession of medicine; but this latter is connected more with humanity and kindness; the physician ever comes to save and to sooth; his errand is always an errand of mercy; but the business of the barrister is frequently to wound; he is taught to deal in delusion, and even in falsehood; his task is, sometimes, to make a false impression, or to obscure and erase the traces of the truth. This would be the worst of all professions, if it were not necessarily associated with high talent, and if its labours were not in public. The vices of the medical profession flow from this, that the scene of its exertions is private; from this source do we derive those intrigues, and that knavery, which seem as if they could have no place in a profession of so much learning, gentleness, and humanity; and we are indebted to the forum and its crowded

auditory, for those virtues which seemed banished from the pursuits of law.

The spirit of faction, which degraded and ruined Dublin, divided the bar also. The breath of liberality, which Grattan breathed, for a season, into the lungs of his country, was hardly now to be found animating a human being. The Protestant barrister, since the Union, resigned the cares and labours of patriotism, for which there was no longer a field, and devoted himself to his trade; the Catholic lawyer found a new, and sometimes a profitable employment, in the vocation of demagogue and mob-orator; and until aggregate meetings sank into contempt, the country was deluged with a flood of foolish and frantic declamation, from, sometimes, the most tasteless and insipid speaking machines.

Dublin, like the rest of Ireland, has few memorials of a remote antiquity; none that reach beyond the period of the English invasion. The memory of its Danish citizens, and its Irish princes, and founders, have perished. The pride of ancestry has been ridiculed: but for the individual who can count a long line of fore-fathers, and can recite the story of their lives, is it not another existence? Does he not live with his ancestors, and feel that he holds possession of

those past ages, which, for other men, have no being? And is not this association common to other minds as well as his own? Do not all men connect their idea of him, with the idea of his ancestors? Surely this is an association, whether of good or evil, not to be despised. The memory of the past is often precious and delightful, and the better part of life; it relieves the insipidity of the present time; we live over again upon the rich materials which our happier years have laid up; take these away, and to what do you reduce life? How waste and barren the prospect! Hardly would we part with our sorrows, if in their stead we were to be presented with "a universal blank." Utterly ignorant of the future, we retreat into the past to escape from the vanity of the present, and to find a certainty of existence.

It is the same with nations: these are universally considered, and the popular mind ever views itself, in connexion with its history; the character takes some shading from the colour of its ordinary contemplations, and thus our ancestors reflect back upon their posterity a good or evil influence. We cannot converse much with the spirits which are departed, without being somewhat changed by the communion; the citizens of Dublin still feel the effects of their unhappy history; the spirit of the old Bristol colony lives in

the corporation; they dream that they are still in the midst of the "Irish enemy," and that the O'Moores are at their gates; and not a few have felt all the terrors of the olden time, when they heard the sweet notes of the minstrel of this once mighty name, and warlike tribe, as he tuned his lyre upon his native hills, calling back the shadows of forgotten glories.

It has been said, that the public buildings of Dublin are too sumptuous and expensive for a city of the second order; we are of another opinion; we admire public magnificence, as much as we condemn private parade. The old Roman stepped from his humble shed into the grandeur of the imperial city, and felt his importance increased as he walked amongst the domes and columns which attested the power and splendour of the commonwealth; in these, he, too, had a property, in common, with the highest men in Rome; this was his country, and these were her glorious ornaments. We should like to give our humblest citizens this bond of attachment, and this source of pure and just gratification. Let it not be thought that the poor are insensible to these things; far from it, they love the splendour which adorns the state; though they feel a malicious pleasure in deriding the extravagance of individual ostentation.

Ours is an age of private enjoyment; the genius of architecture is condemned to labour upon a small scale, for the gratification of individual pride or taste. Hence the poverty of London in its public buildings, and the wealth of that great city, in its private circles; even the bridge of Waterloo, the finest piece of architecture the metropolis can boast, owes its existence to private adventure.

We prefer the system of the ancients; their simplicity in private, their public magnificence. The structures, which taste or pride have raised, have no endurance; individuals perish, and families decay, or become extinct, and the hand of ruin seizes upon their works: neither is the pleasure derived to the possessor from these buildings, of so pure a kind as that which flows in the great tide of the public feeling, and springs from fountains from which all may draw; even our pride is purified when it has the public for its object, or its source.

The public can afford to build upon a greater scale than even the wealthiest individual; and it possesses also a kind of immortality, which gives permanence to its works: the hand of a continuing care sustains and preserves them; and even when that hand is withdrawn, when the

day of fate is at length arrived, and nations sigh their last, these glorious monuments endure, and stand out in the wilderness, to tell of genius and power, of which there is no other record, and to supply us with a portion of the history of our race, and of their sad fortunes, of which otherwise there were no account.

We will not criticise the buildings of Dublin; some of them are admirable. We do not however admire Nelson's Pillar, nor the Wellington Testimonial — these masses of stone have little meaning. But where are the statues of her great men? Where are those of Burke, and Grattan, and Curran, and Goldsmith, and Barry? These names are wealth and glory, of which she cannot be deprived; let her not disentitle herself by appearing ignorant of their value.

It is said that Dublin has not suffered from the effects of the Union, in the degree that was anticipated. The grass is not seen growing in her streets. True: Dublin has thriven, spite of the Union; but what would she not be now, had the Union not taken place? Our regret is not, however, for what Dublin has lost, but for what the rest of the country has not gained.

UNIVERSITY.—LEARNED INSTITUTIONS.

We do not mean to discuss the merits of the University of Dublin, as compared with the two English Universities. We believe it is not inferior to either of them; perhaps, in some respects, it is superior to both. Neither are we disposed to question that such institutions were of the utmost utility in past times, when learning could be acquired in those great repositories only.

The colleges of Europe were storehouses of knowledge, fortunately constructed in barbarous and barren ages, to preserve for posterity those scattered harvests of the mind, which few knew how to preserve or to appreciate. We are indebted to the spirit of monkism for most of the learned institutions of Europe, and to the monks themselves for the precious treasures laid up in them.

Since the invention of the press, colleges have ceased to be of considerable utility. They are now little more than great libraries, with good apartments, and well-paid librarians: they derive their chief importance from fashion; from the power of conferring degrees, and from the law, which makes a degree necessary in some professions. Perhaps it were better, in the profession of the Church, if nothing more were required than fitness — if the candidate were examined in the necessary qualifications, no matter where or how he acquired them. Some of the brightest men of our country were never at college.

Colleges are schools for grown persons; little, perhaps, is learned there, and the danger of such assemblages of young men deserves to be considered; but we would be far from wishing to extinguish these ancient lights of the world; we would rather trim the torch which burns now so dimly. We know how useful is the leisure, and how delightful, frequently, are the associations of those happy years spent at college.

Dublin College is reproached with being barren: its possessors have given nothing to the world worthy of notice; and this has been accounted for by the severe course of study which

a fellowship requires; after this, it is said, the intellect is exhausted, and a man requires a whole life of repose. The wealth of the fellowships is also thought to incline those learned persons to idleness: but neither of these causes appear to us sufficient to account for the intellectual barrenness of the college. Men who have undergone as much mental labour as the fellows, and men as rich, have shone in the brightest paths of literature and science.

We believe the fact to be, that they are not the brightest men of the country, or of the college, who obtain fellowships. The course of study by which those rich prizes are won, requires more of labour and memory than of intellect; if there is talent, and we know that there is, amongst the fellows, it has made its way, spite of its own nature, into this cave of Trophonius, and sits ill at ease in its dull chair. The fine genius of Burke could never have made its way to the honours which waited upon the intellect of Barrett; Grattan could never have groped to a fellowship, and Curran felt the hopelessness of the case.

If the laws of the college are not like those of the Medes and Persians, we would advise to open the way to its high places, to genius rather

than to the drudge — that honours and emoluments should be apportioned, not to the load laid upon the memory, but to talent, proved by its own works. It is the nature of genius to be devoted to one pursuit; mediocrity has a certain humble aptitude for all. If, then, the fellows are required to excel in every thing, it is clear they can excel in nothing. They must be men of ordinary mental stature, whose strength does not lie in any charmed spot: men, capable of any common feat of activity, but unfit to contend with the Philistines, and unable to shake the pillars of exulting wickedness and folly.

The University of Dublin is too rich: like the reformed Church of Ireland, the college was liberally endowed with lands, originally "not their own:" and both these learned and pious bodies, are suffering under a woeful profusion of the good things of this world. Learning needs not wealth, but competence: riches and poverty are alike injurious to it; the one cloys, the other chills it. It would be of the greatest advantage to these bodies, if some mode were devised to purge them, without violence of their excess of wealth — a power of making very long leases, would, perhaps, do this. It would be of the greatest advantage to the country also, which

suffers severely by the great extent of this property, and the law which restrains its disposal.

There is in Ireland but one college, the establishment of Maynooth being purely ecclesiastical. We have, however, two "Institutions," that of Belfast in the north, and in the south the "Cork Institution." Both these are in the nature of colleges, having professors, and lectures, and libraries, and scientific apparatus; and these comprise all that is valuable in any college. Both these institutions are new, and, we believe, derive aid from government: the Cork Institution, we know, received three or four thousand pounds a-year, for a number of years, of the public money, and still receives something.

We do not quarrel with the application of this money; we think it not ill bestowed: but where, as in these instances, and in the case of the college of Dublin, institutions for the education of the rich, who can so well educate themselves, are so liberally provided for, what might we not expect for the poor? Government might safely leave the rich to educate themselves; they understand the necessity of education, and will not be without it, and they possess the means of providing it — for the government, the poor is their portion, and ought to be their care.

Institutions, as they are called, may receive too much public money; they may be too independent. The professors in such places having snug situations and salaries, will give their equivalent of routine, but will hardly be excited into much zeal in the cause of public instruction. Men of this class are as fond of ease and enjoyment as any other. Learned professors are not all men of genius, most of them are mere scientific tradesmen, whose only object is to work up the material they happen to be possessed of, to the best account possible. You must deal with them as with any other class of tradesmen; leave them to the public, who will remunerate them as they deserve. If the public is too ignorant, or tasteless, to appreciate their commodity, it is evident that it would be folly to force it upon them; you must wait till a taste be formed, and then you need do nothing—where the taste is, the gratification will be sought.

In a poor country, such as Ireland, and whose poverty is chiefly the consequence of its connection with Britain, perhaps there is a necessity, as well as a fair claim, for some liberal public support for institutions of this nature; but this support should rather be directed to the foundation of the establishment—its library, museum, instruments, buildings, &c., than to the payment

of the expenses of clerks and professors. With all these materials furnished to their hands, with a considerable public to work upon, men of talent would not want for support, and much more than support, and places of this sort are the property of men of talent only. The tradesmen of science should be turned over to work upon the more congenial materials of leather, or broad cloth.

EDUCATION.

THERE is no subject of greater importance than the education of the people. A system of national education may be called for, in order to raise up a people from barbarism, and to establish the peace of the state upon a secure foundation; or it may be required for the purpose of strengthening the basis of ancient habits, which accident or the flux of time might have shaken.

We are of opinion that a national system of education is necessary in England, to ensure the stability and permanency of the old and valued establishments of the land. Nothing less than this will put them entirely out of danger. Habits of order and moral observance may be produced by a great number of fortunate circumstances operating steadily upon the events of a long series of ages. And out of those habits may grow up a high degree of power, wealth, and happiness; and the solid and united mass of these ad-

vantages may appear to be indestructible, and may, in point of fact, acquire great durability, and the capacity of resisting much concussion.

But it appears to us, that as all this rests chiefly upon habits, which have been put together and built up by the agency of a singular concurrence of circumstances; so may they be broken and scattered by the disastrous combination and continued assaults of an adverse succession of events. Good habits, respect for established institutions, reverence for the laws, form the foundations of all that is excellent, and great, and glorious, in civil, social, and political society; but these foundations may not be securely laid. They are sometimes deposited by the hands of time and accident; and the same agents, in the changefulness of human affairs, may uproot and overturn the deepest and firmest strata of the structure.

Habits change gradually when the circumstances which produced them cease to operate; more rapidly, when circumstances of a different kind begin to exert a contrary influence. The man whose habits were formed by the influence of surrounding associations, to a sober and contented life; pleased with the security in which he lived, and happy in the assurance which the observ-

ation of others and his own had never permitted him to doubt, that sobriety and industry ever lead, by sure steps, to ease and competency;—such a man, when security is changed for insecurity; when sobriety and industry no longer bring the ease and competency they were used to do, will no longer preserve those habits which were the mere formation of circumstances; he will be industrious and contented no longer.

The highly-prized institutions of the land will lose their value and their excellence in his estimation, when no longer associating in his ideas with his personal comfort and accommodation. The education of habit will not endure those changes, nor sustain those shocks, which the education of principle is alone calculated to do. Therefore it is that in England, where this former species of education chiefly prevails among the poorer classes; and where there is, under the surface of all the order and beauty which are spread out upon the lower levels of society, a deep and dark mass of ignorance, full of peril to the country. The vigorous application of a better system has become necessary.

In Ireland the institutions of society are not guarded even by the slender influence of habit. In the season of peril, come when it may, no

means of defence can be drawn from amongst the cherished associations or prejudices of the people. All this is hostile ground, — a neglected region, which, for hundreds of years, the pride of strength and the confidence of power, have suffered to remain uncultivated and unreclaimed.

In the season of prosperity, it is true, this out-lying waste might safely have been despised; but there are periods in the history of every nation when such a portion of its domain, with all its wildness and barbarism, may assume a disastrous importance. It is surely no light thing, that the early prepossessions and deep-rooted prejudices of the people are all in array against the existing order of things; and that there are countless thousands of strong arms and ready hands prepared for any desperate enterprize. It is not that there is amongst the people any plan or any thought at present of overturning the existing establishments of the country; but there is in their minds, and in their habits of thinking, an old and settled enmity towards them, which has never been grappled with, except to exasperate, and which it was and is beyond the power of kings, *as conquerors*, to subdue.

That social and civil economy, of which, in England, the laws and institutions are not the

creators but the creatures, requires to be placed upon a more stable foundation than habit. In Ireland the necessity is more urgent; it is not here a question to give permanency to the habitudes of a long-established and well-ordered system. Those are to be created. The debate is not, by what means the buttresses may be renewed, and the foundations secured, of the ancient and commodious residence of our forefathers, of which the great stones and timbers are still sound and abundant. But we are called upon to rear a new structure; we are to find materials as we can; we are to clear the foundations, and with all the obstacles and the difficulties that obstruct our way, and the poverty which damps and embarrasses the whole operation, we are to build up a residence for a future generation.—But, the enterprise is a glorious one, and within the power of an enlightened zeal, and a patient perseverance; we would not disguise the difficulties of the undertaking; but we would urge its necessity, and we would invite those who are willing to engage in this great cause, to acquaint themselves with the depth and extent of the work that is before them.

The rulers of the people take upon themselves a task full of responsibility; they undertake to preserve liberty, peace, and social order; and,

for this purpose, to use the best and most effectual means in their power; they are charged to take care of, and to promote the wealth and industry of the nation; to uphold its power, and to husband its resources; it is their duty to impress upon the people respect for the laws, and regard for the ordinances and institutions of society.

For all these purposes, it must be confessed, that, generally, the machinery of the governments of Europe is the clumsiest imaginable. There is a great waste of life, and a great expense of happiness, and of treasure, and a great application of laborious legislation, in order that the state may be in safety, and that private property may be guarded; and yet, with but a trifling expense, and but a little attention, and without the shedding of blood, might all that is valuable in society, and the state, be placed in perfect security, and be surrounded with a better defence, than the *posse-comitatus* of the sheriff, or than the victorious battalions of the commander-in-chief could furnish.

Little is the labour which will purify the stream at its source, and lead it into convenient channels. And with what a complicated and expensive apparatus, and with what a vain

effort is it attempted in mid-course? And yet this is the apparatus, and the effort which we see every where set up, and every where made around us; all is bustle, all is laborious exertion to stay the foul waters which threaten to deluge and destroy the cultivated grounds of society. We bid these labourers go to the head of the stream, and spare themselves much trouble: there is too much toil in human life; it is the nature of man to accumulate around him voluntary woes; but it is happily much of the business of the present age to clear away the troublesome mass of useless regulations which has been heaped up on every side of us, and to open a way to the freedom and simplicity of sound principles.

Yet it by no means follows that all regulations are vain, and all legislation pernicious. *Laissez-nous faire*, is a good maxim; but it has been seized upon by dabblers in political economy, as an excuse for thought, and an apology for the labour of investigation; — as the authority of Mr. Malthus's book is set up as a screen for hardness of heart, and a specious defence of selfishness. If much has been done in error, it does not follow that nothing can be done which is right; there will ever remain abundant occupation for all the wisdom, and all the benevolence which can be

collected in the world, and can be induced to labour at the glorious task of promoting human happiness, or alleviating human woe.

The state takes little care for the education of the people; it instructs them neither in the laws of society, nor informs them of the ordinances of God; it leaves the important season of youth all unguarded and uncultivated; it looks with cold neglect upon the friendless outcast, whose early age has been exposed to the blight of vice, and the awful visitation of indigence and calamity; but, when grown up to the age of manhood, the savage whom society has formed by neglecting—who has grown ferocious in the crowded wilds of civilized depravity, without any of the high and redeeming qualities of his red brother of the woods, without his knowledge of nature, or even his imperfect morality, and without any of the culture or the humanities of that order of society which surrounds him;—when he comes to take his revenge, with what expense, with what effort and difficulty is he guarded against, or cut off—if he perish, he has, ere this, perhaps, inflicted on some innocent individuals that ruin he was preparing for himself; his ruthless hand has cut off the father from his children, or he has plundered the orphan of his bread.

Trace the career of one of these victims of society, and mark how, at every step, he accumulates crime, and scatters misery, and destroys property; and then, think an instant, at how trifling an expense, and how simple an arrangement, all this might have been prevented. Had there been but some cheap and humble provision for the education of this child of misfortune, — had his mind been elevated by the history of God's dealings with his creatures, and his heart softened by the Gospel, — if he had been soothed by some little attention bestowed upon his infant years, — if he had been taught to know that Heaven looked down with interest upon his course, and to feel that society took care for his welfare, — he would have repayed this cheap, but precious concern, by supporting those laws which he has violated, and adding his portion to the general stock of the industry and happiness of the community. It is in the cold and desolate regions of wretchedness and despair that crime recruits her battalions, and marks her victims.

The spirit of legislation has not so much concerned itself with the prevention, as with the punishment of crime; or where it has looked to prevent, it has sought its object, not through the cultivation of the heart, but the terror of punish-

ment; and the history of human delinquencies is the record of its failure. Man, in a state of nature, is the most desperate and most vicious of animals. In savage life, there is a partial cultivation of some few of the human powers; but the wild man of the metropolis is altogether depraved; his only cultivation is the cultivation of crime, and of an evil heart; his natural instincts towards wickedness are pointed and sharpened by the collision and experience of numerous associations; and in his keen and hopeless warfare with the world, he acquires a new and terrible ferocity; hence the crimes which follow the footsteps of advancing civilization, and stain them with blood.

It is astonishing that this heavy machinery for guarding against, and for punishing crime, with all its expense, and all its inefficiency, should be upheld and continued in an age of political economists; and this unjust and inhuman disregard, this cold and scornful neglect of the poor and humble, should be the prevailing characteristic of Christian states and governments. We are dazzled with the intellect which has been poured out upon the bullion question, and the corn question; and we are ready to bow down before the mighty spirits which have explored the hidden sources of the "Wealth of Nations."

But the one, the almost solitary light which burned in the path of our enquiry, is extinguished. Who is worthy to carry the torch of Romilly?*

But it is not enough to soften the savage aspect of our laws; perhaps it were better leave them to all their unmitigated ferocity, unless some measures be taken, at the same time, to soften the character of the people also; when we legislate for barbarians, even humanity herself will write with blood; but she will tear out these pages, as soon as she shall have persuaded governments and philosophers to root out barbarism from amongst the people.

We find, that in some of the ancient Pagan communities, the education of the people was deemed to be one of the most important concerns of state policy; nor has the Christian dispensation, in any way that we know of, at all diminished the urgency and importance of this great concern; on the contrary, it seems to us, to have added to all the former motives of policy and expediency, the new and pressing obligations of the most sacred of all laws; proclaiming to the momentary managers of earth's bu-

* Perhaps Sir James Mackintosh.

siness, that they shall answer for all the good they have not done, and could have done, and for every soul they have suffered to perish.

Experience has clearly shewn, that little is to be effected towards the prevention of crime, by a process which leaves the heart to its natural corruptions, and to the brutalizing influence of vicious associations; and then coldly exhibits the gibbet and the prison to check the career of wickedness in its maturity. It has been ascertained, that it is much cheaper, and better, to educate the young and ductile mind; to train it up to the love of God, and of goodness, and to implant, in the young heart, respect for the order of society, and the law of the land, than by prosecution and conviction, by shedding the blood, or transporting the person, of the grown and hardened offender, to vindicate the safety of society.

But if we take a wider view of our subject, and consider for a moment the numerous offences which never come before the tribunals of the country; and the losses and calamities which these occasion to the community — or, if enlarging still our range of observation, we pass in review the various classes of mankind, in the order of their several pursuits, and labouring

at their appointed tasks, and consider how little is done — what a wide waste, and what a grievous mismanagement; and how much greater a proportion of wealth, comfort, and happiness might be produced by the application of a superior degree of industry and intelligence! — we must lament that so little attention is paid to the education of the people.

There is no want of labour and toil in the lower classes of society; but it is often irregular and ill directed: ignorance adds greatly to the heavy burdens of the poor. If we were to think at how cheap a rate the education of letters, and the education of religion, may be given to a nation, and made to pervade every town, and to embrace every hamlet, and to enter into the economy of every household, and that it is only necessary to furnish the people with these simple but mighty instruments, to enable them to work their own way, through every obstacle, some of them to the heights of power and the limits of human prosperity, we should deplore the policy which can endure so fatal a neglect.

We must pay a due tribute of respect and applause to the goodness of heart and patriotism of that prince, who said, He would take care, that every peasant in the land should have a fowl in

his pot on Sundays.* But how much greater the wisdom and the goodness which had for their sublime object, that every poor man should be able to read his bible on the Sabbath day.† The beneficence of the monarch may fill the pot of the peasant with a luxury; but it were better still to store his heart with good feelings, and his mind with an intelligence which would not only enable him to procure these comforts, but to add to the stock of national wealth, and to the much more precious stock of national moral principle.

But what would be our views of this subject, if, not merely regarding it as it touches the present order of things; not confining our estimate of education and religion, as tending to the preservation of the peace and good order of society, as promoting industry, sobriety, and intelligence, and the wealth, power, and happiness of nations; but if, with greater and higher benevolence, we were to extend our concern for our fellow-man, even beyond the limit of his present being, and consider him with kindness and compassion in his relation to eternity? — In this view, with what force does not the obligation to educate the people come upon their rulers?

* Henry IV. of France. † His late Majesty, Geo. III.

And can it be that this is a concern entirely foreign from the duties of statesmen and governors? We think not. The care which the state has generally taken of the church, proves that it has not always been thought so; and we cannot bring ourselves to believe that this care has always grown out of political considerations only. We think, that even among statesmen there have been some who could value a Christian education, upon the simple grounds of its relation to another world, and without any view to its operation upon this, as a state machine.

But we only advert to this consideration in passing; we leave it to have its weight with perhaps a few, and to be considered as foolishness by many. Our object is to consider the necessity of education as flowing immediately from the admitted necessity of religion in the civil economy of nations.

That religion is necessary to the order and good government of nations, appears admitted by all the states of Europe. In all these we find religious establishments in close connection with government; and if we consider, generally, the expense of these establishments, and the discontent and difficulties which they sometimes create, and the steady and consistent firmness with which,

notwithstanding, they are upheld; we must be led to estimate very highly the value at which they are rated, and the salutary influence which, in the opinon of statesmen, they exert upon the well-being of society.

Whatever may be our opinion of establishments, we fully concur with those, who prize most highly the influence of religion, as directly promoting the best and highest interests of the civilized world. Without religion society cannot exist; it does, therefore, well deserve all the attention which has been directed to it by princes and legislators. But it must appear somewhat extraordinary to every thinking mind, that while religion is so highly appreciated for its influence upon the people, so little care is taken, that this highly-valued influence should, indeed, be produced in its full power and proportion. Having got together the machinery, and paid the cost of the apparatus, the ordinary statesman throws the care of the matter off his mind, and leaves it to work as it will; he takes no concern, though the lower ranks of the people stand afar off from it, in deep and dark masses, uninfluenced by or gazing in scorn, or in anger, upon its showy and solemn evolutions — or, though the middle classes may have retired from its circle, in derision, and left the great establishment

to be merely a decent and proper appendage to exalted rank.

Education must go before religion; the labours of the school-master must prepare the way for those of the clergyman. It is enough for the latter if he sow the seed, and water the field in due season, and attend to the growth of the weak and tender shoots, and be vigilant to remove obstructions, and to "bind up the bruised reed." But if he must also put his hand to the plough — to break up the stubborn soil, and to be burdened with the toil and the drudgery of every preparatory process; or if, what is worse, he be required to sow the precious seed upon the barren heath, which no plough has touched, or industry laboured, he will have, with all his care and exertion, but a poor crop.

Some hundred years ago, when with all the faults, and the darkness of antiquity, there was less, perhaps, of the voracious spirit of gain in the world, and more disposable time and attention to lay out upon public interests, the value of the arrangement we have been alluding to, was better understood; every parish had its school-master as well as its parson. The parish school-house and the parish church stood toge-

ther, surrounded by the graves of those who had no more to learn; reminding us, by their proximity and relationship, of the short interval between infancy and the grave, and the close connection of both worlds. Here, the busy hum, and the few words, learned with so much toil — there the silence of the grave, and the brief story on its tablet; and the church, pointing with hope to another world, for compensation for the woes and necessities of this.

The short story of human life, and the long history of mankind, is a history of letters and religion. Letters were the first civilizers of our fierce and cruel nature; they went before the mission of Moses, and entered into the divine economy of the Hebrews: they were deemed essential to the religion of Christ; and neither in the Jewish or Christian dispensations, did the spirit of God leave itself without a written record. They are indispensable at this day, and have ever been so, to the right understanding of those deep interests, whether of time, or eternity, which affect every man that comes into the world.

The Jewish law was given, in an especial manner, to the priests, for the instruction of the people; but the Christian economy was different.

The gospel was given to the people; and if a man cannot read, he is shut out from the best evidence of a future existence, and the best information as to the means by which it may be rendered happy. He is excluded also from a full and intimate knowledge of the most urgent motives to virtuous conduct in this world. It may be said, that he can obtain all this information through the medium of the clergy; that to furnish this information is their proper business and province; that the church service, in its proper seasons and times, will supply all that is needful to the understanding of the Christian revelation, and to a full comprehension of the interests and duties it invokes.

But we are compelled to dissent from this doctrine. In a matter of such high importance, we would use no medium; we would not have the truths and doctrines of Christianity to be discerned through the veil of the temple only. When this veil was rent, there was no other appointed to be hung up between the people and the holiest: all was revealed.

If, in the Christian economy, the priesthood were the only channel of instruction; if the service of the temple were an indispensable means of spiritual communication, then would this

economy be, we should be compelled to say, very imperfect and much inferior, and less adapted to its object, than that of the Jews. In the Jewish economy, the priesthood, and the service, and the temple, were marked by such sure and certain designations, and so ordered and founded, that these could be the subject of no mistake or diversity of opinion; and accordingly, there was no contention upon any of these matters among the Jews. They all worshipped at the same temple, they all used the same ceremonies and forms, and they all acknowledged the same priesthood.

It has been the error of Christians not to perceive that if a church of a particular description, or ceremonies, or modes of worship of a particular kind; or a priesthood observing certain special forms — that if all, or any, of these had been necessary, they would have been appointed in such a way as to preclude the possibility of mistake; we should not have been left to collect loose inferences from scattered texts, each of us according to his own imagination.

That church, which was to be the sole depositary of truth, would have been built up, like the temple of Jerusalem, so that no man could mistake it. And its ceremonies, like those of the Jewish

temple, would have been prescribed with an accuracy which would render error impossible. And the ministers of divine worship would have been so placed, like the sons of Aaron, as to make their title indisputable.

We find a commission given to the Apostles to preach the Gospel, and to announce the new dispensation; but there is no form prescribed, nor mention made of their successors. Not so is it in the Jewish law, where the forms are detailed with an astonishing distinctness and minuteness; and where the commission is given not only to Aaron and his sons, but also to their children in succession. If we look into the evidence afforded us by the New Testament revelation, we find there were seven churches recognized by the Spirit of God; but there is no one of them represented as possessing any power or superiority over the other. Nor are they individually or collectively represented as being inferior to, or dependent on, any other church or congregation; nor as being all or any of them free from faults, or incapable of error. Nor do we find, as in the Jewish dispensation, that any respect is paid to the place where those churches were situated, or to the ceremonial of their worship. These, whatever they might have been, are passed over, as not of importance enough to be noticed, while

the Spirit denounces their want of zeal and the impurities of some of them; and commends the charity, and the steadfastness, and patience of others.

The Jewish law was political and ceremonial, and required fixed forms, and an appointed priesthood. The Christian dispensation is spiritual, and has neither prescribed form nor priesthood set apart. In this state of a question, so full of interest to mankind, who is to guide them? How are they to decide, among the innumerable pretenders, none of whom can produce a sealed and authenticated charter, or point, like the Jewish teachers of old, to the towers of a temple erected by divine command? These could hold up even the robes they wore, and the ornaments which shone upon them, and assert, with truth and with triumph, that even such things had been the subject of a special and accurate appointment of the Most High. And is not the Christian dispensation the fulfilment and the perfection of the Jewish law? How is it, then, that in this perfect dispensation, the end and the accomplishment of all, there is neither form, nor ceremony, nor priesthood distinctly appointed?

It has been said, that those points which have been omitted in the New Testament have been supplied by tradition. And it may no doubt be true

that there are traditions, touching various matters connected with the church, and the service, and the priesthood; and whether there be such traditions or not, we by no means deny that these are points of some importance.

But we contend that they are, compared with the great truths and leading principles of the law, of very inferior importance indeed; that they do not hold in the new law, the place they held in the old, nor any place like, or near it. While faith, love of God, and purity of life, are dwelt upon in every page of the New Testament as comprising the law, the whole law and the fulfilment of the law; while these truths continually, incessantly, reappear in every possible variety of form and language; while they are pressed upon our attention with an earnestness, and a power of eloquence, and a force of demonstration, that leaves us in amazement, considering that the propositions are but few and simple; all the mere machinery of religion, the temple and the priesthood, and the forms of worship, are left unnoticed, or left to tradition, or left to be plucked up and wrangled for, as dubious inferences.

And what is the inference from all this? Is it not that these things are left at large; without a

rule, except such as time, and place, and circumstances, might apply? This is, indeed, at this day, the only rule which can be applied to these things. The rule of tradition is crooked and flexible, and measures nothing in due proportion. It has been too much in the mouths of men, too much breathed upon and handled, and too much, and for too long a time, in the custody of mere human agents, to be now a measure to be relied upon in any case. This rule existed also among the Jews, and was in their hands but an instrument of evil. Yet there were, no doubt, real traditions among that people. The error was, in supposing that any thing of importance would have been laid up in this wretched repository, this mingled storehouse of falsehood and folly, and disfigured and distorted truths.

There are, or have been, we have no doubt, real traditions in the Christian Church, but, surely, nothing of real importance has been left to rest upon this broken staff; difficult it has been to preserve the genuineness and the purity of even the written law, and to keep it free from error, and to guard it from the unholy meddling of weak and wicked men; those who would serve religion by fraud, and promote the interests of a sect, at the risk of perdition — so difficult, that it required all the permanency of the written

character, numerous manuscripts in different and distant parts of the world, the unwearied labour, and the profound research, at various times and places, of the most learned and laborious men of the earth, to preserve pure and undefiled, this, the spring and fountain of truth; and the waters have come to us without taint, filtered through innumerable mediums.

But where is tradition, that we might bring it to the test, and pass it through the like ordeal? He who knows what is human evidence, knows that, generally, the story of yesterday cannot be collected with accuracy, nor related correctly; how much less the story of eighteen hundred years! Will it be said that the spirit of truth could preserve tradition pure, even in its long course, through this foul and broken channel? That spirit did not go down the stream of time with the traditions of the Jews, and save them from all manner of corruption; that spirit does nothing needlessly; it gave to all, which it was important to preserve, the security of a written record, and that which might be changed, or might perish without loss, was left to the breath of man — tradition. In our age, all tradition must be rejected, because it cannot be proved: if it contradict the written word, it must be false; if it agree with it, it is unnecessary.

We have been led to treat, shortly and rapidly, these topics which lay in the way of our argument. These subjects will be considered vulgar and misplaced, by those whose taste and literary habits lead them far away from such speculations; but they are far more important, and have a much greater influence upon the mass of mankind, than the polite of the world are aware of; and in treating of the education of the people, they press irresistibly upon our attention.

The Scriptures are necessary for the people, and it is essential for society, that the utmost impartiality be observed amongst all sects. All the calamities of the Christian world may be traced to a want of acquaintance with the Scriptures, and to the dominion of sects and churches. What church, since the conformity of Constantine, that has not been assailed and assailing? What a lamentable scene of aggression and pretension, of violence, fraud, and blood, is presented by the history of these vaunted *Christian* churches. During all this period, the Scriptures were little known to the laity; and when first the light of knowledge broke in upon the darkness of what is emphatically called the "dark ages;" and men had gradually recovered from the verti-

ginous effects of the sudden irruption, and having put aside human tyranny and authority, began to drink in quietness of the pure and unadulterated spring of moral and religious truth—the face of society was changed.

Its fierce and threatening lines were softened and subdued; man became indebted to the dissemination of the Holy Scriptures for a new view of his duties, and a new sense of his obligations; they came home to his bosom as an immediate communication from God, with a power and authority, which men have, in vain, tried to throw round their own inventions. All did not receive the Scriptures; and many mingled these pure waters with the intoxicating spirit of human imaginations; but there yet went forth from this unsealed fountain, an odour and a pure and holy breathing, changing the whole atmosphere of society, restoring humanity to its original gentleness, and, ultimately, to all its original rights.

Since these days, the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures has been progressively increasing in the world: and society has also gone on, progressively improving. It is but a short period; and yet, looking back on what has been done for mankind, we have reason to be astonished. If we compare this period with all its happiness, gentleness, and humanity, its wisdom,

knowledge, and power, with the boasted days of Greece and Rome, their proudest achievements, and the structure of their most improved society, and all the arts, intelligence, and humanity, they can claim; we must see how little human wisdom, and human authority, could do for the species, and in what depravity, vice, and barbarism, it was sunk, notwithstanding the wisdom of the schools, the perfection of art, and the triumph of arms.

If we compare this period again, with that which has elapsed from the days of Constantine, to a point not far removed from our own time, we cannot fail to observe, that as long as the gospel lay hidden and concealed from the mass of mankind, barbarism and inhumanity swayed a dark and sanguinary sceptre over the nations; and a cloud, as thick and heavy as ever was sent up from the altars of paganism, covered the whole earth. And though some glimmerings of Christian light shot occasionally across the gloom, yet it served only to make the darkness more appalling.

Liberty, philosophy, truth, and reason, came with the opening of the books of the gospel; and when all mankind shall have read and learned their duties, at this high and only infallible au-

thority, the remnant of disorder and barbarity that is in the world, shall disappear, and nothing remain, which is not, unhappily, the inalienable inheritance of human nature.

The religious contrivances of men are without authority; no one is deceived by them. This man preaches forms and ceremonies of one kind — that person insists upon observances of another description: even in the same church, each individual gives to the religion he preaches the tinge and colouring of his own peculiar character and views; he lays it down, as a rule of strict discipline, or he shades it away as a system of amiable and loose morality; or he presents it decorated, and overlaid with ceremonials. In whatever way he exhibits it to public view, the people can well discern and understand, that his religion is not the religion of the next parish; nor the religion of the former incumbent; nor, probably, that of him who will succeed the present.

It will be said, that there are some leading doctrines ever the same. True; but these, if they are sometimes insisted upon strongly, are at other times wholly kept out of sight. Take the clergy of the Church of England, and place them in their pulpits, and what a variety of doc-

trine, what various views of religion, notwithstanding the confessions and the articles of this church. This is not peculiar to the Church of England, but is common to all establishments.

These various readings upon religion, this ever-shifting and unstable theology, unsettles the minds of men, and suffers them to swing loose, from all restraint, if they have not the strong mooring of the unchangeable gospel. The populace cannot enter into the causes of all this variableness; but the effect upon their minds will be to make them careless of religion and its obligations, as of a thing uncertain, or not distinctly to be apprehended — something resting chiefly upon the authority of human exposition, and taking its tone and character altogether from the functionary who treats it. A religion of this kind will not come home to the minds of men with much power or persuasion. We may not distinctly apprehend, or confess to ourselves, that we understand this, merely as a religion of human device, but we will feel it.

There is another danger to be apprehended. In all establishments, there are not only men and ministers who are careless, and misrepresenters,

or suppressers of important doctrines; but there are many also who are enemies of the truth — There are unbelievers in the ministry.

By what means shall we guard against the mischiefs of the ministration of infidelity? Shall we be told that it is a rare case, and therefore not to be taken into account? This is an error; it is by no means a rare case. There is no established Church in which there are not many infidels; and if we take the number of these, and add them to the number of the careless, those absorbed in the pleasures and business of the world, and the despisers of their duty, we shall find the aggregate portentously great, from whom the people derive no instruction, and under whose care it would be impossible that any thing like religious principle could take root, or grow up to maturity. All this is a region of barrenness, where the hearts of men and their best affections, wither and perish upon the soil: there is no hand to raise them from rottenness, as they creep along the ground, adhering to the stocks and stones, and the perishing things of the world; there is no kind attention to train them up on high, and teach the fine tendrils of the human heart to clasp the glorious promises of a bright hereafter.

The infidel preacher in the church, like the careless or fashionable divine, will be a preacher of morality; but mere morality is nothing more than a regulated and balanced scale of selfishness, steady enough when suspended in a calm atmosphere, but vibrating violently, in the unequal currents of the passions, and swept away as a feather, by the fierce gusts of calamity, to which the lower regions of life are all exposed.

Fixed and steady principles, able to abide all change and circumstance, and to withstand the perilous temptations of the world, cannot be formed by any amalgam of morality, however pure and refined. It is of the nature of mind, that it cannot be unchangeably confirmed in elevated principles — it cannot be purified, nor made to endure the fire of temptation, unless it be taken out of its ordinary circle of interest and association, and lifted up into a purer and brighter region, and made to expatiate, in distant and glorious visions of futurity, and brought to feel the littleness, and the sordidness, and the vanity of those pursuits, which usually engage and absorb all its powers.

Take an individual, and imbue him with an ardent zeal for the public welfare; fill his spirit with a love of country, and a concern for the

interests of humanity — and you have expelled, in some degree, the morbid poison of the human heart; you have raised and dignified his character, and fixed his principles upon a high and enduring basis. But if you touch his eyes with the finger of an Apostle, and open them to the wide and magnificent scene which the Christian Revelation spreads before us, and point to the great interests of humanity, extending through all space, and all creation, to the throne of the Most High; and if you convince him of the truth and reality of all he sees and contemplates, you have now established his character beyond all danger. It is mingled with the high and holy interests with which you have made him conversant; and partakes of the exalted nature, and the eternal durability, of the things which are to come.

The mind assimilates to the nature of its ordinary contemplations. The views of persons of rank and education being somewhat extended, the character is raised and refined, and the principles, in some respect, established by the length and breadth of the field that is open to their contemplation; they are, at the same time, raised, ordinarily, above the temptations which beset straitened circumstances. The poor are surrounded and assailed by these temptations;

and their views are so confined, their circle of observation so narrow, they are evermore so shut up, and pressed upon by a crowd of sordid and clamorous interests, that there is no escape; they cannot look abroad into nature, nor afar off into the fields of learned speculation, to rectify the errors of their contracted experience. They cannot travel out of themselves, and their daily and urgent necessities, to recruit the better principles, and finer feelings of their nature, among themes and exercises in which self and time present could have no direct concern.

Sunk and lost amidst the wants and the darkness of their lot, the poor are helpless, and their condition is without hope. You come, in vain, to them with your refined reasonings upon moral obligation; they will not understand you; and if you would build up a theory of still more refined selfishness, combining the security of your enjoyments with the preservation of social order, and a respect for the rights of others, you will be still more unintelligible. The selfishness of the vulgar is violent, voracious, and undistinguishing.

There is nothing of power enough, but religion, to raise the grovelling and distracted spirits of the vulgar, out of the deep debasement, and the oppressive cares under which they labour. This alone, can take them, for a while, out of themselves and their immediate concerns; they can understand, and enter with a deep interest into the story of an hereafter; they have learned the hard lesson of obedience, and know what it is to struggle, and to struggle in vain, with resistless power. It is sweet to the poor, and the oppressed, to look up from the human hand, that presses immediately upon them, to the Divine arm which is stretched out alike over all; the humble and the exalted.

If you can raise the minds of the poor to the contemplation of the providence of God, and fix their mental vision upon heaven and eternity, you have accomplished much towards the improvement of their characters. This scene, new, and extensive, and magnificent as it is, is not, like the logic of ethics, beyond their comprehension. The idea of supreme power is familiar to their minds, and that of future retribution is one they delight to dwell upon. Such contemplations purify and improve the mind, by the nature of the exercise they afford it, as well as by

taking it away for a moment from the engrossing solicitudes, and the crooked pursuits of life.

If you bring them to consider their own sufferings and privations, as part of the system of Providence, and not as the mere result of the factitious arrangements of this world: if they are taught to look up, through the human agent, to the Supreme cause, you take away from their lot all its bitterness; heavy and severe it may be, but it has not the sting, nor the rankling, which inflames the sores of the victim, when man lays his grinding load upon his fellow.

It is human nature to bow, with calm submission, to the decrees of exalted power, when it would fret and struggle against the impositions of "a little brief authority." We are soothed in our sufferings by the dignity of him who chastises; and when the mind is raised up to the Supreme Being, it adds to this consolation, that which is strangely derived from a sense of sinfulness and demerit in the sufferer. The mouth of the complainer will be closed, if you can make him clearly discern the arm of God in the events of life. The feeling of his sinfulness will take away his complaint. A sense of the Divine presence, and the consciousness of guilt, stills the tumult of the wild bosom, and makes the heart mighty to suffer.

How, then, are we to communicate to the poor this sense of religion, which is their sole treasure in the world? — which is also the best security for social order, and the happiness of society? Will the poor become really religious under the ministration of any established order of clergy? We doubt whether the poor of England are a religious poor; we are sure that the poor of Ireland have little of the feelings or spirit of genuine Christianity; and yet, in England, there is an expensive and richly endowed church. In Ireland, there are two establishments, one much more wealthy than its sister of England: the other, without endowment indeed, but yet not poorly provided for. Both these, after a long trial, have failed in Ireland; and have left the people at this day, ignorant, barbarous, unchristian, and almost savage.

It was natural that they should fail; because no system of education went before, to prepare their way amongst the people; because it is of the nature of rich establishments to be inefficient, a majority of those promoted to the ministry being chosen for other reasons than their fitness. And this observation applies as well to the Roman Catholic church of Ireland as to the Protestant establishment. The former takes its ministers from a different class in society, to whom the

preferments of that church, humble as they may be, are still objects of ambition, and prizes in the lottery of life. This is the only material difference. We do not conceive that there being no presentations to livings in this church is a circumstance at all in its favour, as it only tends to increase the power of the bishops.

That both churches have failed, miserably and wofully failed, is what cannot be disputed. The moral and religious condition of the populace and peasantry of Ireland is lamentable. Yet it is after this utter and awful failure, that many amongst the ministers of both churches oppose themselves to the only remedy for the care of Ireland — the civilization of letters, and the religion of the Gospel. We would ask, Have they not had time enough for the experiment they have made? And during all this time, was not the state establishment armed with sufficient power, and abounding with wealth? And was not the Roman Catholic church richer still in the affections of the people, and stronger in the discouragements of power? We would close the mouths of these enemies to education and foes to God's word, by pointing to their own utter inefficiency,—the time, the opportunities, the wealth, the means, with which they have been so abundantly supplied, and which they have so lamentably misused, or so unhappily failed to apply.

It is plain that other means must be sought.—We offer the education of the people, and the wide dissemination of the Gospels. These must go together. The mere faculty of reading will do nothing, unless it be properly exercised. Other books than the Gospels will not avail with the people, because none other speak to their hearts with so much power. None other come with such high and awful authority to their bosoms, and preach the great laws of patience and obedience, upon principles and in language that they can so well understand. The Gospel was originally preached to the poor; and it is at this day the book best fitted to their condition and comprehension.

But it is said, that by these means we should multiply sects, and give room for doctrinal errors. It is true that the multiplication of sects has been attended with some inconvenience, but it has had its advantages also; and we doubt whether these have not predominated. Civil liberty, as well as religious freedom, is attended occasionally with unpleasant circumstances. But who, for these, would give up the precious privileges of our free constitution? Who is there so disgusted with political fanaticism, and the frenzy and folly of the mob, and the turbulence of weak or wicked men, as to surrender the liberty which has made

England great, and to give up the birthright of their fathers for the quiet and uniformity of slavery? This argument has no weight. Beside, there cannot be an indefinite multiplication of sects. The propositions which Christianity offers to our consideration are but few, and cannot be the subject of indefinite modifications. And we may be assured, that when the principles of religious liberty are better understood, and more generally acted upon, there will be an end to the generation of sects. A sufficient number there will be to meet all possible varieties of human opinion: this is necessary; and so far from being an evil, is a great good.

The varieties of civil government are but few; and these will, probably, always continue to exist. There will ever be monarchies, republics, and mixed governments. But it is probable that the time is not remote, when the principles of civil liberty shall be generally understood, and shall universally prevail, whatever may be the form of government. Neither are we very distant from the period when religious freedom shall be finally established, and, whatever may be the form of church-government adopted by the different congregations of Christians, the great truths and essential principles of Christianity shall universally prevail.

The multiplication of sects is no more, generally, than the setting up of new varieties of modes of worship and church discipline, leaving the essentials of Christianity the same. They do not necessarily lead to the increase of doctrinal errors. We rather think they diminish these, insomuch as they turn the attention of the people strongly to religious topics. These errors prevail most in old and settled establishments, where the minds of the people have sunk into apathy and ignorance upon religious subjects.

Take the peasantry of Ireland, — and what monstrous imaginations, what wild and strange conceptions, will they not be found to entertain concerning religion! Can they be called Christians? Take the peasantry of England, and what dull and stupid ignorance, upon these important topics, will you not find amongst them? Yet all these have been reared up in the bosom of establishments, and are the faithful sons of the two oldest and greatest establishments in these countries.

Error is not confined to the sectaries; and religious fanaticism is no longer an object of apprehension. She has laid aside her helmet and her spear, which she wore in the fierce struggles of the Reformation, and is altogether, in our days, a peaceable personage. The object of our fear

is no longer the extravagance of religious zeal, but the wildness of infidelity and political speculation. We have not to contend with the overflowings of devout and crazed affections, but with the stern pestilence of a relentless rejection of all authority.

In the changes which time renders necessary in all human institutions, and which are sometimes pushed on, by the tide of circumstances, with an overwhelming force; we are called upon to guard against the agency of the demon that steeped France in calamity. With our feeble hands we cannot stop the flowings of the tide of time, that changes all things on the earth. But we can oppose the shield of religion to the spirit of infidelity which is abroad in the world, and has its lips and its hands wet with blood, and is busy in seducing the people. The infidelity of the vulgar is enormous wickedness.

We have to guard, too, against the spirit of an ignorant superstition, more hideous and not less cruel than that of infidelity. Shall we point to the massacres of Bartholomew's and the murders of Elizabeth and Mary, or the blood shed in Ireland upon every side of this fatal question? Even in our day, and while we write*, this fierce pea-

* February, 1822.

santry are all around us, shedding nightly the blood of some victim, or offering up some awful immolation to the spirit of that profound and dreadful ignorance of religion, which has taken away from them all the characters of humanity, and converted them into demons. They do not murder because of the religion of those who suffer, but because they themselves have none.

Is it much, then, to ask that the people be made Christians? And who are they who oppose the process by which we would christianize the people? We have seen the ministers of the two great establishments opposed to each other, as they are in many things, yet combining in this work. But not all. There are some, even in the church of Rome, who feel the urgency of the occasion, and know that an effectual Christianity is the only security for the peace of the country; the only mound which can stay this wild ocean, this overflowing population, which struggles and roars aloud to leap over the embankments and defences of the law.

An educated population makes a thousand channels for itself, and flows off imperceptibly and without injury to the establishments that sustain the state. An educated man has many resources. He can apply himself to various pur-

suits. He can seek a livelihood in foreign lands, if his native country should not afford him employment. At home, the intelligence he has acquired will make him an object of some respect and consideration; abroad, his enlarged capacities open the way to usefulness, and he falls readily into some place prepared for him.

But the imbruted peasant is a clod attached to the soil; he has no resource in calamity; he is generally unacquainted with the outlets which may be open to him; he is unqualified to improve any advantage which may occur; he has but one mode or means of subsistence; and his general want of intelligence, and ignorance of all beside the narrow spot upon which he toils, and the drudgery to which he is accustomed, take away all respect from his character. He is exposed to every insult and injury; abused, wronged, oppressed with impunity; he stands a forlorn and defenceless victim; his abject poverty places him without the pale of law; he sinks lower than the level of the brute; for man, in a state of deep ignorance, and utter destitution, is far beneath the wild animal of the woods. But low as he may sink, he is not unmindful of his wretchedness and injuries, and he is ever ready to take a fearful vengeance upon society, which has oppressed, neglected, and brutalized him.

It is left only to educate the peasantry; this would diminish their numbers, by giving them a taste for better accommodations; or by furnishing them with new resources, it would enable them to provide for themselves. You must give them the Bible. This alone possesses the high authority of heaven; this alone is unchangeable; this alone is assuredly true; this can take no colouring from the prejudices or characters of men; all else has the feebleness, and the uncertainty, and the tinge of human manufacture and composition. The history of the Christian nations, from the days of Constantine, is a history of its folly and its failure; and there never was a more striking instance of its wretched inefficiency, than that which Ireland furnishes at this day. If creeds, and establishments, and human devices, could have christianized any people, Ireland would be now the most Christian nation in Europe; she would, long since, have risen to the renown which she had before she was encumbered with this machinery, and be now, more than ever, an "Island of Saints." Such she was, when she had no establishment — two establishments have made her an island of barbarians.

When we consider, for a moment, the total failure of all the various devices which have been

contrived and invented, with a view to supersede and render unnecessary the inspired Book of God, we are struck with astonishment to see the warm and angry contest which is still carried on, to take this book from the hands of the people, and remove it as a pestilence from the land; and if the matter were not a very serious one, we should be amused at the frivolous and absurd pretences, under which this rooted antipathy and horror of God's word disguises itself. The most violent enemy of the Bible must preserve some decency upon this subject, particularly if he be a clerical enemy.

The great pretence, is the difficulty of understanding the Bible; and these wise and unpretending personages, who oppose its distribution, arrogate to themselves a greater degree of explicitness and perspicuity than the Holy Spirit has been able to arrive at, in explaining the things of heaven; but the Spirit has not chosen to be explicit. Do you, then, think it expedient to unfold what he has thought it right to conceal? Or do you think you shall succeed in the attempt? Witness your disputes and wranglings to this hour; witness the wise and intelligible attempt to expound the doctrine of the Trinity, of which the Athanasian

Creed furnishes an instance, in the Protestant church, and in that of Rome.

What is there, in the Scripture, more difficult to comprehend than the doctrine of transubstantiation, which the Roman Catholic church proposes to the belief of all her congregations? And when she has done this, she turns round and expatiates on the unintelligible things of Scripture, and her happy talent in explaining them! We judge no church; nor are we here concerned with the truth or the falsehood of any doctrine; but we are bound to assert that the explanations of the churchmen are, generally, more difficult than the text; and that the Scriptures, themselves, are more simple and intelligible than any commentary we have ever seen. We do not, however, quarrel with commentaries, provided they be made with due modesty, and make no pretensions to an authority which does not belong to them. As human and fallible compositions, they have their use; but they ought not to be generally circulated, because they are human and fallible, and there is no certain evidence of their truth.

We must suffer God to go forth amongst his people, and speak for himself. Who is there that has a right to say, that, to this or that people

he shall not be permitted to speak, and that to the poor he shall not address himself, whose mission was to them chiefly? except in our words, or with the glosses and additions we put into his mouth? This is a high and fearful presumption; and, if it were not of every day's occurrence, we should be greatly startled at it. God has written a book, and he commands us to read it. It would be a bad character of any author to say that he had treated his subject so clumsily, as to leave it still obscure, and his readers still imperfectly acquainted with what he designed to communicate. It would be a reproach to any ordinary writer to say that he had written a book professedly intended for the instruction of all nations, which, yet, hardly any people could understand, and which it required hosts of interpreters to make intelligible — a book, in which every man that comes into the world is deeply interested, and which yet, it is asserted, none but a few learned persons can understand, and these cannot agree upon the interpretation — which it is pronounced dangerous, in most cases, to read, and which, instead of promoting the object it professes to have in view, — that of guiding men into the sure path, to a happier and a better world, tends rather to lead them astray, and to confound them in the perplexities of perdition.

This, surely, is a strange account of a divinely-inspired book; and the wonder will increase, when it is considered, also, that it is a very large, and a very long book; that it is the composition of different times and ages, during which, what was obscure might have been made plain, and what was imperfect might have been supplied. That the Divine Author availed himself of every species of talent, and of every variety of disposition; that the pen was held by the legislator and the historian, the poet and the prophet; and gave utterance to every various strain of eloquence; from the loftiest heights of the sublime, to the calm narration, and from the warm current of the deep affections, to the gentle flowings of tenderness and sympathy.

It is wonderful, that, with such a power and such a compass, this book should be the imperfect thing we are told it is. But who tells us this? Is this the opinion which the author himself has pronounced upon his own performance? Far from it. He speaks of his book as beautiful and perfect, the treasure and the light of the world. He invites the simplest, and the humblest, to its perusal, and commends "little children" who read it. He tells us, indeed, that there are in it, "things hard to be understood," not to discourage his readers, but to make them humble;

not that the learned might glory, but that they might understand; that, as to these things, they are on a level with the very least in knowledge. These things, the learned have not understood, for, if they did, they would have agreed in their interpretation. These things are sealed until the day when the author shall be his own commentary.

But shall the book be proscribed because of some hard things? Do we deal thus with any book of human performance? How much, that is unintelligible, is there to be found in the great writers of antiquity, and of our own day? And yet we do not forbid them to be read. This harsh measure is reserved for the book of inspiration. What should we think, if we heard a very ignorant person pronounce, of the work of a man of genius and eminence, that it was a dangerous and unintelligible publication? Should we not be astonished at his presumption, rather than be guided by his folly? And if such a man were to tell us, that we were not to read the book at all, or only as he might think proper to expound it for us, would we be inclined to obey the audacious pretender?

And yet, what is the distance between the most elevated heights of human genius, and the

lowest and foulest depths in which our nature stagnates, compared with the space which separates these boasted elevations from the throne of the Most High? Shall we not then bring this same rule of good sense, to measure this more important matter? Or shall we throw it away where the interest is deepest and profoundest? And shall we, where the height and depth of eternity is to be calculated, descend to a contest with the ignorant speculations and the arrogant pretensions of men?

It is an every-day occurrence to hear God's Book denounced by men, as difficult, obscure, and dangerous, whose opinions we should not regard for an instant, and whose criticisms we should laugh at, and despise, if employed upon any other, the most ordinary publication; but — what, though this severe condemnation come from stronger heads and lips that are more eloquent? What, though this sentence be pronounced, not only by individual temerity, but by the congregated audacity of multitudes, shall we receive it? Surely not; for we know the authority of the book; but we know not by what authority these men presume to condemn it. The Apostles, who healed multitudes of their diseases, and raised the dead to life, and wielded, at will, the mightiest powers of the deity, valued, and

recommended to all, the perusal of the Sacred Writings. Whilst these men, who can show no proof of their commission, these are they who condemn them.

We recommend to educate the people: we strongly recommend a religious education. Aid the labours of the churches by the dissemination of the gospels; for without this, experience has shown that they labour to no purpose.

Without some previous education, what can the minister of the Gospel make of the human block he has to work upon? Though he speak with the tongue of angels, he addresses an understanding that is darkened, and does not comprehend him. He speaks to a heart that is alienated, and will not listen to his appeal. How can he convince a mind, into which no ray of light can penetrate? How find his way into a bosom, which is closed against him, with a power that sets human agency at defiance. When the heart closes in its own wilfulness, who shall open it? Here it is, that all power is vain, and earth and heaven may fail in their united effort.

Earth may wield its pitiless weapons, and crush the human being; heaven may put forth its arm and destroy him: or God, in mercy,

may touch the obdurate heart, and press his finger upon it, till it feels sore, and the blood bubbles from the deep and shrinking wound, and he may fail to recal it to himself; and yet this creature may be naked and defenceless, and he may see around him a thousand sources of swift and ready ruin; and against all these, and more than these, the heart can close itself and be secure.

When the heart shuts out the world in scorn, and sets heaven itself at defiance, there may be bitterness in its solitude, there may be trembling in its deep recesses; but the power of good and evil fails not. Man, with all his weakness — a worm of the earth, that breathes a little while, then writhes in agony and dies; even this feeble and short-lived being, has the might of "the divinity that dwells within him," unconquerable of earth or heaven. How then is he to be won for whom heaven contends in vain? It is, for the most part, a hopeless case, if vice, and impracticable ignorance, have been suffered to occupy the young affections, and to seize upon our early years.

Educate the people—How many colleges and establishments are there richly endowed, and well taken care of, for the education of the

higher classes, — of those who can well afford to educate themselves; while the funds, appropriated to the education of the poor, by the piety of past ages, or the benevolence of individuals, have been lost and squandered, and become the prey of impious peculation; and rulers and parliaments have looked on with cold indifference, while the indigent were cheated of their most precious inheritance.

It was not asked, whether the plundered poor lived and died in utter ignorance of all the most important truths which concern humanity, and which it was their right to be instructed in. It was enquired only, whether they were patient and submissive in their wrongs. But the day is passed when this system might have answered. We are called upon to provide another, and that quickly; the people will be patient no longer. All that ignorance and brutality could do has been tried, and it has failed: all that severity could accomplish has been the subject of much experiment; and it has left us where we now are, with every thing to be done over again.

Try education: try what the Holy Scriptures will do: be not alarmed, for these can do no evil. Are you apprehensive for this or that establishment? If these establishments are

founded upon the truth, you need not fear for them: if they have not this foundation how are they to be supported? Or how can you wish to uphold them? Are not the people more than the establishment? And is it not confessed that they are in utter ignorance of their duties as men, as subjects, and as Christians.

Dismiss these apprehensions, and have courage to do right; relieve the people, at the same time, of those burdens which are manifestly unjust, or lighten them, for the people will bear much injustice, and then you may be assured that the population will adjust itself; that the people will find employment for themselves, and that peace and security will be upon the land.

We have attempted to sketch no plan of education; this is the business of the legislature. Much might be done by a benevolent and patriotic gentry, independent of any legislative aid; but there are few such gentry in Ireland. This subject must be taken up by the state; parliament must provide funds for this needful undertaking; otherwise, nothing effectual can be done. But whether it be better to supply existing voluntary societies with parliamentary funds, or that the legislature should take the education of the people into its own hands, is

what we shall not undertake to determine. Much good may be done by the former mode of proceeding; and we should advise this mode, until the subject shall have been fully discussed and investigated; and until we are made to see our way clearly through all the difficulties which encompass it.

We have only to do with the principle, and we press that not upon the government of the united kingdom only, but upon every man in either island, who values the peace and prosperity of this empire.

BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

THIS is the age of societies. We shall not undertake to count the number in activity, of those whose labours are employed in reclaiming the moral wastes, which stretch in every direction around us — nor of those who are engaged in soothing the woes, or mitigating the afflictions of humanity. These are noble tasks, and none of them wholly in vain; yet the number engaged in such pursuits, great as it may seem, is comparatively few. If the labourers have increased lately, so as to seem a multitude, the work to be accomplished has also been more than proportionably augmented.

Of the numerous societies in operation in Ireland, none have undertaken a wiser or better task, than those whose efforts are directed to the education of the people. Other societies may support life in its extremity, or lighten the burdens which bear so heavily upon age and indi-

gence; or they may go forth to meet the stranger and the foreigner, in his bewildered path, and conduct him to safety and shelter. There are those who meet the deserted child of vice, at the polluted threshold of existence, and take care that he do not perish. There are those who go to meet the wild Indian in his native fastness, and the fierce follower of Mahomet, and the superstitious Hindoo, anxious to bear to these, their lost kindred, the treasures of that word, which in this world is civilization, and knowledge, and art, and science, and humanity, and in the next is life eternal. Even the Jew, in the overflowing humanity of our age, has found those who can wrestle with prophecy in his behalf, and undertake the doubtful adventure of his hapless cause.

All these are good; but we would suggest, whether the benevolence of our country has not taken too wide a range, and sought to occupy a field too extensive. Notwithstanding the great number of societies, the number of individuals composing them is not large: many persons are members of several societies. The benevolence, which seems unbounded in Britain, has still its limits: this precious material, if it be drawn out to an indefinite extent, and made to cover the surface of the whole globe, must be beaten to the ut-

most imaginable tenuity; it will do no more than gild the surface of the earth, and furnish glittering matter for reports, and dispatches, and amusing publications. Underneath, and to a near observation, all will be as it was before; the same ignorance, vice, and barbarity; and the Christianity of this system will be like the Christianity of the friars and Jesuits, in their Hindoo Spanish missions, — a name only.

We undertake to christianize foreign nations, when we have not christianized our own. Go into our popular cities, into our rural districts, into our mountainous tracts, and are these all inhabited by CHRISTIANS? Are there even a moiety of the crowded inhabitants who know any thing of the religion which gives them a name? "Unto the Jew first, and then the Gentiles," was the wise and just maxim of the founder of our religion. It has been too much neglected. We would say, unto our own people first, and then the stranger.

There is a disposition even in religious matters, and amongst religious people, to be dazzled with extensive undertakings, and foreign achievements. A narrow space, and near and homely pursuits, will not satisfy the taste of some.

The sum of means which is available for the service of the common interests of humanity, is limited, even in Britain; but in Ireland, it is very small. We can enter into the feelings of those, who, in England, take concern for the whole human race, and be warmed by the glow of that humanity, whose theatre is the wide globe we inhabit. Great means challenge great achievements. But we have seen, with other feelings, the scanty pittance which the poverty of Ireland could afford, divided with the Jew, and the Hindoo, and the Heathen, while the individuals, of whose humanity, this small sum was the fruit, lived in the midst of a moral wilderness, which called for much more care and culture than all their means could suffice. For what is the humanity of that man who feeds the beggar at his gate, and suffers his own household to perish of hunger? Is he a wise or good man, who is forced to live upon the charity of his neighbours, and yet makes an ostentatious display of alms to all who ask?

This is the case of Ireland: her poor are educated at the expense of British benevolence, and yet we see numerous societies in Ireland sending money abroad for the instruction of the Jew and the Heathen! This is the vanity of charity. Every person engaged in pursuits of charity, is

not, we fear, to be set down as charitable. There is a fashion in these things also; there are charitable coteries, and religious coteries; and the talkers and pretenders in these circles do infinite mischief to the case of real religion and charity. Up and down, in these societies, you meet with characters of real worth and unaffected virtue. The pretenders, and the mere religious and charitable gossipers, are easily known. With these, charity and religion is taken up as a means of acquiring notoriety, as an introduction to good society, or as a resource against ennui or idleness. They have need of something to talk about, and to interest them to a certain degree; but they make no sacrifices: what they give in the way of charity is very small, just enough to save appearances, and measured with a cautious and timid hand, lest any inroad should be made upon their comforts, or the rising structure of their wealth be at all impaired. Some of these are cunning managers, and traffic rather in the charity of others than their own: some are wealthy persons, living in circles of religious luxury, whose charities are very sparing and economical, but whose parties exhibit a rich display of whatever can gratify the senses, or delight the palate, or flatter the vanity of the entertainer, and make the religious guests admire and envy.

The slang of religion is disgusting; and we fear there is much of it in society at the present day. No one, however, need be deceived; true religion is devoted, and uncompromising in its character. Those who are living in the anxious pursuit of whatever the world values and admires, and give to charity what they do not regard, and to religion a set of cheap phrases, and a little grimace — those are not religious persons, however they may deceive the crowd, or deceive themselves.

Such persons may be merely scorned, or despised, if they were not of serious injury to the cause of real religion. The mere worldling, or the unbeliever, is willing enough to take such persons as specimens of religious character; it suits his purpose to consider the pretence as reality: and there are, indeed, many heedless observers who are really deceived, and believing these persons to be true specimens, look upon religion to be mere pretence, or specious worldly mindedness — a contrivance for the more safe enjoyment of the sensualities of life; and such it is, no doubt, with many. We would strip such persons of their disguises; the religious gossip, the religious worldling, and the sentimental religionist; these are they who serve two masters.

There is a class of publications, which, in this reading age, has served to fill the ranks of religious pretenders and triflers. We allude to religious novels. We have heard of certain congregations of Methodists, who, having set their psalms to the music of our most popular airs, justified this innovation, by saying, they were determined "that the devil should not have all the good music." So, perhaps, our writers of religious fiction are resolved, that the arch-fiend shall not have all the novels.

We confess we are delighted with works of fiction, which bear the stamp of real genius, and think this species of composition may be made greatly useful: but religion is a very serious and awful thing, and should not be treated so familiarly, nor dragged down to this level. Its solemn character will not brook this trifling nor this degradation; neither does it need this help. If it cannot be introduced into the heart, but by means of this gentle and seductive process, we apprehend it will not find its way. The gilded pill, bearing the name of religion, and which has been administered so largely to our generation, has created a class of sentimental religionists, that gives a graceful and becoming air to society, and does well enough in holiday

times. But this sentimental religion, like all other sentimentalism, is of a sickly character, and will not endure the rough visitations and trials of life.

The religious novel has displaced the ordinary novel at the tea-table, and in the closet, and furnished our parties with a phraseology of another kind. This is often, we fear, the only change. If we had not these publications, we should not have so many talkers upon religion; but we should have, perhaps, quite as many impressed with its awful truths. We are inclined to think we should have a greater number, because then there could be few self-deceived and deluded. There are numbers who can enter into the sentiment of the religious novel, and feel, and, perhaps, weep, and give a little occasional alms, whose religion is all upon the surface of the mind: at bottom is the love of the world, and the pride of life, and the selfishness which hardens the heart against real suffering, while it melts at imaginary woe.

It is said, that those who give their money freely to foreign and remote objects, give also for domestic purposes. Granted. But why not give all this little for those uses for which all is required, and all is insufficient?

In speaking of education societies, the "Dublin Society for the Education of the Poor of Ireland," Kildare-place; the "London Hibernian Society," the "Cork Hibernian School Society," and the "Baptist Society," deserve our warmest commendation. All these have made the Holy Scriptures indispensable in their system. And this has been made a ground of objection to them. We have elsewhere stated our opinion, that Scripture education is essential for the poor. The first objection made to the circulation of the Scriptures amongst the people by the clergy of the Church of Rome, was upon the ground, only, that the version attempted to be distributed, was the authorised, or Protestant one. A number of Catholic and Protestant gentlemen, considering this objection as not unreasonable, entered into a subscription, and published an edition of the Remish translation, for circulation in the schools, and in the country. This was no sooner done than the clergy shifted their ground; and now it appeared that they could not permit the poor to read any version, or edition, whatever of this obnoxious book.

In those schools, where the adventures of Freney the robber, and Don Bellianus of Greece, and other books, with the names of which we shall not stain our paper, had maintained, and

continue to maintain, a quiet and immemorial possession, the New Testament was carefully excluded, and violently denounced.

It is asked, why force the Scriptures upon the people contrary to their wishes? Why are they to be left without education because they have a prejudice against this book? Where this subject has been mentioned, sometimes in parliament, and frequently elsewhere, it has been generally and loosely assumed, that the people are indisposed towards the Scriptures; the contrary is the fact. The people receive this book with gladness, read it eagerly, and desire to see it in the hands of their children. The question should not be, Why do you force this book upon the people? but, Why do you not submit to the mandate which forbids you to give it to them? The people stretch out their hands to you for the book, and the clergy interpose lest you should give them what they so much want. This is the true state of the question.

It is then demanded, Why not educate the people upon a plan which their clergy could approve? We doubt whether, generally, they would approve any plan which did not put the education of the people entirely into their hands. We know, as we have stated elsewhere, many

schools where the Scriptures are not, and never have been introduced, where the books are admitted to be unobjectionable, where the masters are Roman Catholics; and these schools, notwithstanding, are violently opposed, upon the ground, merely, as it is alleged, that possibly, at some future period, this alarming book might find its way into the school.

We object to the Charter-School system, because it is the application of the purse of the nation, to which all contribute, to the teaching of a particular creed. We should, in like manner, and for the same reason, object to Catholic schools supported by government funds. Schools, upon the plan contended for, would be strictly Roman Catholic schools, and they would become an abuse as crying as the Protestant charter-schools.

It is a monstrous assumption, that the religious instruction of the people belongs exclusively to the clergy. Has the state no interest in this matter? Have the landlords and gentlemen of the country none, in what concerns them so nearly, as the moral character of their tenantry and countrymen? Is there no one, amongst the thousands of educated and generous spirits, who can feel for the crowded population of the land, and even for their future destiny, but churchmen,

whose vocation is not always from heaven above? We do not object to the clergy of either communion that theirs is a purchased sympathy and a well-paid concern for the people; but we must be pardoned for thinking more highly of that interest which is without price, and looks for no reward. We know no modern churchman whom we could compare with Howard.

We prize those highly who, though in the ministry and amply provided for, are devoted to their duties from principle and not from the love of lucre; but these are few; the number of such in any well-paid establishment must be inconsiderable.

We would assert the rights of the state, and the rights of every class and individual in the community, in the general interest of the whole. Nothing concerns this interest so nearly as the education of the people. It is a false and foolish, and may be a fatal liberality, which would surrender this great question into the hands of any corporation.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

THERE is something very singular in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The Christian Church of that country, as founded by Patrick and his predecessors, existed for many ages free and unshackled: for about seven hundred years, this church maintained its independence; it had no connection with England, and differed upon points of importance from Rome.

The first work of Henry the Second was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly, he procured a council of the Irish clergy, to be held at Cashel in 1172; and the combined influence and intrigues of Henry and the Pope prevailed. This council put an end to the ancient church of Ireland, and submitted to the yoke of Rome. This ominous apostacy has been followed by a series of calamities, hardly to be equalled in the

world. From the days of Patrick to the council of Cashel, was a bright and glorious career for Ireland; from the sitting of this council to our times, the lot of Ireland has been unmixed evil, and all her history a tale of woe.

After this, Henry left Ireland; and some centuries having passed away, we are presented with the extraordinary spectacle of the whole power of the crown and government of England, again engaged in a violent struggle, to change the established religion of Ireland. The very religion which Henry, by force and fraud, had planted upon the grave of the murdered church of that country, is now to be plucked up by the roots. Surely this is strange; is that country to follow England in all her fantastic changes of faith, as in all her fanciful forms of civil polity?

As she had imposed upon the reluctant neck of Ireland the supremacy of Rome, so, when tired of the yoke herself, and when she had devised after her own fashion, what was in that age a kind of British popedom, she would give her dear sister the benefit of this too; and the latter was to slip her neck out of the one and into the other, at the command of this imperious mistress. Was ever tyranny like this tyranny?

If she had contented herself with taking off the yoke which Henry had put on; if she had been satisfied with taking away from the church of Rome the tithes and the privileges with which he had clothed her; and now that her civil dominion was established, left the people free in matters of faith and conscience, we should have said this was justice and generosity: but far was England from such a course; she, indeed, stripped naked the church of Rome, which had been established by her authority, and was her creature and her instrument in Ireland. But she did so, not in justice to the people, nor in any spirit of liberality or compunction, but that she might clothe the new establishment she had set up with the gorgeous spoil; and having done this, she called upon the people of Ireland to fall down at its feet. They did not obey the mandate.

But they suffered severely for their disobedience; and England, wholly regardless of the opinions and consciences of the people, and disdaining such considerations, went on to cast out the pastors from their churches and their congregations, and to put in their stead, foreigners and others, strangers to the people, and speaking an unknown language. The church of Ireland now presented to the world the hitherto

unheard-of, and monstrous exhibition, of a Christian clergy, chiefly foreigners, quartered upon the people. A host of religious instructors, not able to speak to their congregations in the language of the country: men, professing to be Christian pastors, in possession of large and rich benefices, without any duty to perform, or any flock to lead. This is past, and the Protestant church of Ireland, of the present day, is not to be charged with these enormities.

Every man of sense and feeling must turn away with horror and disgust from such a scene of violence, and such a total and shocking disregard of human rights and human reason; and he will be led to consider, whether any thing of this sort may be found to exist, even at this day, in Ireland. Habit reconciles us to strange sights; and if he look into futurity, he will ask, whether we are done with such freaks of insolent authority.

Perhaps, after a time, if the church of England should take root, and become at length the religion of the Irish people, about that time England may have become tired of her establishment, and shaking off its weight, a future generation may see her come, with the sword and the faggot, and with confiscation, to give to Ire-

land the benefit of a purer and improved Christianity.

To such dangers are we exposed, from the supposed necessity of state establishments. All nations have paid in blood, and in misery, for the unnatural and monstrous connection between the governments of this world and the kingdom of the next; and no nation has paid more dearly than Ireland. Mankind must continue to pay this, the fixed price of such connection, as long as they will persevere in violating the declared will of the great founder of Christianity: "My kingdom is not of this world."

Religion was a state engine in the times of ancient paganism. It preserves the same character among the Pagans and Mahomedans of our day; and when associated with Christian governments, it undergoes the same degrading metamorphosis. Making to itself a kingdom in this world, it tries in vain to preserve its dominion in the next. We cannot mistake its character, when we see the sword unsheathed, and the faggot blazing, and man making a prey of his fellow; and priests sitting upon thrones, and ruling over nations, and giving law to kingdoms and to princes; and kings arrogating to be priests, and making war upon their subjects, in

their zeal for the truth, and for the love of God.

We have seen, in one part of Europe, sitting upon a throne, a veiled vision, something like the grand lama, high priest and prince. In another distant country, something resembling the dynasty of Mahomed — the ruler of a bold and warlike people, and head of the church. We are compelled to search for analogies among the Pagan and the Turk, for such associations, and amongst these only, can we find any thing to compare to the wickedness and cruelty which followed them. Before these connections were formed, there is no instance of Christian slaying Christian for his faith, or plundering him because of his errors.

The Pagan slew the Christian; and he had reason, for the creed of the latter denounced the association of religion and government. It was the declaration of the divine founder of the Christian faith, in the solemn hour of his departure, that his kingdom had no connection with the kingdoms of this earth. Would the Roman emperors have troubled themselves about the contest between Paganism and Christianity, if the former had not been part of their policy, and connected, as they conceived, with the

foundations of their empire? When Christianity, notwithstanding their efforts, prevailed, they abandoned their ancient gods of stone, and grasping the new religion, placed it, unfitting as it was, upon the throne of the Cæsars. The people gazed, and thought that now was the triumph of their faith: they did not know that, in truth, their religion had fled to the wilderness, and that what they saw before them, arrayed in splendour and in power, was some unreal spectre, a delusion of the enemy of mankind.

How can there be a question that Christianity needs an establishment, when we know that it prevailed over the whole earth without one? In the face of opposing establishments, and persecutions, and power, and when it obtained an establishment, then only did it begin to be corrupted; and in its turn, this all-conquering faith gave way before the errors of Paganism, and the impositions of Mahomet.

The faith, which, without an establishment, had conquered the Roman empire, and subdued the world, now seated upon a throne, and surrounded with splendour, yielded to the bold and crafty adventurer of the East, and the shadow of the crescent covered half the earth. Protestant governments also adhered, fatally, to the

Pagan policy of pensioned establishments. Hence the little progress of the reformed churches; hence the failure of the Protestant church of Ireland.

If Christianity cannot sustain itself without an establishment, it is not the truth, and deserves to perish. If there be any form of civil government so bad, that it cannot be upheld without aid of this kind, it were better it were destroyed. But we take it to be a mistake of ordinary politicians, that an honest and wise government cannot maintain itself without all this machinery of corruption and influence, and without having its hands upon every thing sacred and profane.

In all Christian establishments there are men, amiable, enlightened, zealous, devoted, and faithful; and in none is there to be found a greater number of such men, than in the Protestant established church of Ireland*; but of that

* When we had borne this testimony to the worth of individuals in the establishment in Ireland, in a former small publication, "Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland;" a highly respectable review, the "Monthly," asked, with some surprise, how we could testify so highly of the clergy, and yet state the effects of their ministry as nothing, or worse; we answer, it is the system. With this system the good men in the establishment can do nothing, the bad are furnished with a powerful machinery to work evil.

church as a body we must speak the truth. It found the people of Ireland, ignorant, barbarous, and oppressed, and they are still the same. We ask what is the fruit of all their labours in Ireland since the days of Elizabeth? What, none at all? Take the amount of the tithe of the land for three hundred years, paid by Roman Catholics, and other dissenters from this church. What a vast sum! And how have these been benefited? Is there nothing but a blank upon this side of the account? What will this church answer when these accounts come to be audited? And had you the truth also, as you allege. Then is your case more aggravated. For if you had not the truth there had been reason for your failure. And if you had not taken the tithe of the land, you had not, perhaps, incurred this fearful obligation. We blame not the church nor its ministers, the blame is with the system, chiefly, and its unhappy origin.

The established church of Ireland must speedily make out a better case; for the time is at hand, when even in this world it will be put upon its trial: it must bestir itself and make sure its foundations, for it is surrounded by enemies. The spirit of the times is against all establishments: and this, in our days, is an irresistible spirit. It may be opposed, and baffled, and

defeated, a thousand and ten thousand times; but it will prevail, and is prevailing. Its progress is insensible, like the light of the morning. Who can stay its effusion? Or, bid it not to shine on "unto the perfect day?"

All governments and institutions rest upon opinion; and when public opinion changes, these change of necessity also; not at the moment, perhaps; they may continue to uphold themselves, and to move as they were wont for a period, by means merely, of the great momentum, which was communicated by the opinions which first set them going. And if some small degree of force concur, — if the hand of an infant be upon the machine, it may preserve its movement for a long time; and we may, for many a season, be deceived by the specious appearances of power, when all power is gone.

Opinion is now omnipotent in Europe; and in no country of Europe so much so as in the British islands. In Ireland it was as nothing, until lately; and the church of that country was sustained chiefly by the public voice of England; it is so no longer. There is now a public opinion in Ireland, and it must be attended to. Governments and rulers are apt to be insensible to the changes which take place in the senti-

ments of the people; and to the rapid growth of new population, in which the traces of past opinions are scarcely to be discerned. Men in high situations are often engaged with the shadows of past things, and while they ponder, and are busied with these delusions, they are apt to be overtaken, and sometimes overturned, by the rapid and amazing strength and velocity with which the current of public opinion, when its hour is come, rises and swells, and pours its mighty torrent upon the face of the country.

Those who have listened to the tumult and thunder of public opinion in England, like the voice of the waters of some great river of the north, announcing, afar off, the breaking up of the massive crest of ice, which had confined it for ages, will be able to tell, that changes of importance are about to take place. The government of England is too enlightened to commit the happiness of the people, and the safety of the throne, in a vain contest with such a power.

The establishment in Ireland has to contend with the open hostility of the Catholic body of the south and north, and perhaps, the more bitter enmity of the Presbyterian church of the north. To these formidable antagonists may be added, numerous smaller sects, wanting neither in abi-

lity, power, nor hearty hatred. Assailed upon all sides, she conceals, it is to be feared, treachery even in her own bosom; many of her own members * would rejoice in an overthrow, that would relieve them from the burden of tithe.

Her fate, for the present, is linked with that of her sister church of England; when the latter is shaken, the church of Ireland will be laid prostrate. There is rapidly forming, in Ireland, a public, whose voice must be heard. The old parties and factions, that ruled and disgraced the country, have almost disappeared in one day; and some other, hardly less to be abhorred, which had started up for a moment into a formidable power, soon turned from its antagonist, to prey upon its own vitals, and in the progress of its suicide, was condemned to trail its emaciated volume an object of general disgust and scorn.

Too much triumph has been felt and expressed, because of the victory which the demagogues achieved for their adversaries; they threw away the power which was almost in their hands; but the power remains, inert, but unbroken, and when, in the natural progress of things, it shall

* We do not mean her ministers.

have surrounded itself with the new growth of opinion, and the new intelligence of the country, we shall have arrived at a period of many changes. The necessity is even now urgent and felt, of remedying ancient abuses, and every thing indicates a new system of government for that country, in which the opinions of the people can never more be disregarded.

We do not stop to consider what are the views of this or that statesman; or the strength of this or that interest; but we see what is taking place in the bosom of society, and we know the result; the establishment should look to it in time. It may, indeed, be overwhelmed by the fall of the church of England; but it can be upheld only by its own strength.

The church of Rome in Ireland is in possession of all that the establishment wants, — the people and their strong affections. But the faithfulness of the people was, of old, partly political and national, and their affections had embraced the church as the partner of their sufferings and humiliation. The long wars of Ireland had left the country poor, and the people ignorant. But a new scene is opening to this church also. Knowledge is making a rapid progress, and already its career is beyond con-

trol. A wise and good government, and the fading away of party distinctions, will lead the people to other associations; they will learn to value their church for what it is, not for what it has suffered.

ANCIENT CHURCH OF IRELAND.

A QUESTION has been raised, whether Patrick had any existence beyond a name? Some men have doubted the testimony of the best authenticated history, and some the evidence of their senses. But we have satisfactory proof of the existence of St. Patrick. On the other side, we have only the unsupported speculations of ingenious men, which we are bound to reject. St. Patrick had several predecessors, who had prepared the way for his preaching in Ireland. He appears to have reduced the whole island into obedience to the Gospel: how this was accomplished, — the difficulties he had to overcome, or the means he employed, we are unacquainted with; we know little more than his success.

Patrick is said to have received ordination from Celestine, bishop of Rome; but he does not appear to have considered this circumstance as at all affecting his free agency as a minister of

the Gospel. Nor did Celestine attempt to erect, upon this foundation, any claim to dominion or authority over the church of Ireland. The church of Rome under Celestine, in the fourth century, and the church of Rome under Adrian, in the twelfth, were different churches.

The church founded by Patrick in Ireland was truly national, apostolical, and independent; it existed about eight hundred years, commencing with the mission of Patrick, and terminating with the invasion of Henry II. To put an end to this church required the presence of a foreign army, and a potent invader, and the address and cunning of a practised intriguer; the boldness and power of Henry, and the fraud and falsehood of Adrian: to build it up, required only the individual zeal and devotedness of Patrick, and the force of truth. The national church of Ireland fell before the united power of England and Rome: these accomplices afterwards quarrelled, and have since been contending for the prey, which in those days of their fellowship they had succeeded to entrap.

The ancient church of Ireland, like the churches of the apostolic age, exacted no tithe; but was supported by the voluntary offerings of the people. Its bishops also, like the bishops of

that period, had, for the most part, authority over one church or congregation only: they were what were called choressis, cossi, or village, or parish bishops; or, generally, what we would now call rectors. Of these, the number in Ireland exceeded three hundred. These bishops were mostly married men, as was the case in the first Christian churches; and it appears frequently to have happened, that son succeeded to father in the ministry for several generations. This would naturally be the case in a pious age, and among an uncorrupted people.

All these are evidences of the simple and apostolical character of the ancient church of Ireland. But we have stronger testimony. We should infer much excellence, and good, and many great works, even from the construction of this church solely, as we should infer good work from a machine rightly constructed for its purposes: but, in such a case as this, we would not be satisfied with mere inference; nor are we left to it. We have before us the plan of the machine, but we have the history of its working also.

A church disclaiming human authorities, and acknowledging no superior but Almighty God — a church simple and free in its internal structure, uncorrupted by the fatal power of seizing, by au-

thority of law, upon the property of the people — from such a church we should expect much.

The seventh and eighth centuries were periods of great calamity, upon the Continent and in England. Dreadful wars had scourged and barbarised the nations; Christianity was nearly shaken from her throne of mild dominion; humanity and letters shared her misfortunes, and fled when her sceptre was broken.

They found a peaceful and secure abode in Ireland: they were welcomed to her hospitable shore; and those who valued them came hither from all parts of the world, to study and to be instructed. There is abundant and unquestionable evidence of foreigners, that Ireland, at this period, opened wide her arms to receive and to shelter the students, and the distressed of all nations.

She possessed numerous colleges, where learning and religion were cultivated; and with a generosity seldom equalled, she afforded to indigent foreigners the means of support, as well as of instruction. And when the ravages of the northern barbarians upon the Continent, and of the Danes in England, permitted a breathing time, she sent forth, at every opportunity, men eminent

27283

for piety and learning, to keep alive some seed of Christianity abroad. The church of Ireland extended her concern over all the churches of Europe at this period; but assumed no authority over them. She attended also to the interests of learning; and, chiefly by her zeal, a number of colleges were founded on the Continent; and she continued, for a long time, to supply them with able, pious, and learned professors. In England she was equally active; and Alfred, if not educated in Ireland, as there is some reason to think, knew how to value her acquirements. He invited and encouraged the learned missionaries of Ireland to bring into order the church and the colleges of his kingdom.

This was the age of Ireland's glory, for it was the age of her political and religious independence. It has been said, that this high degree of eminence in religion and learning was impossible, because the English, at the period of their invasion, found the country in a state of the utmost barbarity — without arts, institutions, learning, and nearly without religion. We answer, that three centuries of Danish dominion, and incessant war, are sufficient to account for the circumstances of the country at the time of the invasion. Can any one who knows what warfare is, even in the mitigated fierceness of modern

times, find any difficulty in accounting for the ruined condition of the country? Is it difficult to imagine that, in such a lapse of ages, churches, colleges, and institutions should have crumbled into dust, and the frame of society been utterly dissolved? Calamity is frequently, even in private life, the mother of vice. But the misfortunes of nations are the foundations of wickedness; and the throne of evil is established upon the basis of misrule.

We do not claim for Ireland, at any period, a high proficiency in the arts; nor seek to deck the shadow of past ages with the honorary chaplet of the sculptor and the architect. The splendors of Rome or Athens are not necessary to the greatness or happiness of a people: without them learning may flourish, and justice be administered throughout the land; and religion may make its dwelling in the heart; and peace and abundance may lie down in the lowly cottage; and that civilization, which is not the civilization of arts, but the civilization of principle, arising from the cultivation of pure Christianity, may pervade the community.

Those who look for the ruins of costly edifices in Ireland, of a very ancient date, will be disappointed. But we invite them to the perusal

of the works of foreigners, and of Englishmen of undoubted credit, of these ages. They abound with testimonies to the honor of Ireland; they testify of her zeal, her piety, her unpretending devotedness, her unostentatious hospitality, her wisdom and learning. Other evidences perished in the conflagration which the Dane lighted upon her shore; or were destroyed when her church and her civil liberties sunk under the combined efforts of England and Rome. But the testimony we have referred to is unimpeachable, and will endure for ever.

It was in reference to this period that Ireland, by the unanimous consent of the European nations, was placed in the rank of a third empire; the Roman, the Constantinopolitan, and the Irish. Is this any evidence of her worth and her renown? It was not surely her extent, or her conquests in the world, that gave her this high place. Hers was not an empire purchased by the tears and sufferings of other nations; but by benefits conferred upon them. Her triumphs were peaceful triumphs; and such as, in comparison with which, Cressy, Agincourt, and Waterloo, fade into nothing. It is a vulgar thing to subdue a nation. Have not the Goths, and the Huns, and the Turks, and the Tartars, done this? But to give refuge to many people, to instruct many

nations; these are triumphs worthy of empire. The claim of Ireland to a third empire was established at the Council of Constance; and it was more glorious than the other two, for it was the empire of intellect and benevolence.

The light and the glory of this empire had been shed upon Rome itself; and England had largely shared its illumination and its warmth. It was owing to Ireland, that in the ravages made in England by the Danes, the lights of religion and learning were not utterly extinguished. In this time of England's visitation, Ireland alleviated her distress; and when it passed away, she assisted to repair the ruin it had made.

In the struggles which were made in England, and upon the Continent, to resist the encroachments of the Roman See, the missionaries of the Irish church were every where contending in the front of the battle. They drew upon themselves the fierce and stern indignation of the pontiffs. They were rebuked as being irregular and schismatic, and as pretending to be bishops and priests, without regular ordination. The Irish clergy were not, however, to be intimidated. They not only boldly maintained their own rights and freedom, but they conferred ordination extensively, to the great annoyance of the church

of Rome; raising up, in this way, a powerful priesthood, independent of her authority.

In every age, Ireland had borne the banner of civil and religious freedom. She sent her auxiliaries to combat by the side of Britain in the days of the Cæsars, for the independence of the sister island; and she succeeded, in conjunction with the northern tribes, in staying the tide of Roman dominion. The imperial eagles folded their wings, and maintained, with difficulty, a defensive contest behind their triple wall. She, too, carried the sacred standard of religious liberty on the Continent, and in England, and wherever the battle raged fiercest, upon which depended the deepest interests of mankind — the right to be free in thought, and to worship God with an unconstrained volition.

These things have long passed, and other interests and other events have succeeded to engage the attention of mankind. And when in the change of circumstances the busy population of England, and of the Continent, have cast a passing glance upon Irish affairs, the eye has been speedily averted with a sort of careless pity, and a cold contempt for a people overwhelmed with hopeless woes, and lost in labyrinths of misery. The learned of the world have not been more

just; and the best and brightest period of Irish history, and the best authenticated, has hardly been adverted to; or only passed by with a slight and cold regard — because remote.

With the vulgar herd of mankind, whether toiling in the drudgeries of life, or revelling in its luxuries; whether sitting in the seat of power, or musing in the philosophic chair; — calamity is a sure passport to contempt. But we visit those with the full weight of our hatred and scorn, whom we have most injured and wronged. Hence, upon the Continent, Ireland was merely despised, — in England, detested. But this has likewise passed, or is passing; and we may now again advert to the ancient history of Ireland, and be heard perhaps with patience.

Ireland, too, notwithstanding her ancient glories, though she was hailed from every shore of Europe, as the "Island of Saints," was destined to have her time of suffering. Her visitation was also of the same kind which desolated her neighbour. The northern invaders came; and though combated bravely, and finally conquered and expelled, they left the country weakened, divided, and ruined. Then England also came; but not to repair the waste of war, — not to restore the ruined colleges, or re-kindle

the extinguished lights of learning. Her visit had no such purpose; her object was a vulgar and ordinary one. She came to take advantage of the distractions of the country, and to add to them. She repaid all the obligations which Britain and Europe owed to Ireland, by putting an end to her monarchy, and destroying her independence; and by leaguing with Rome to put an end to the liberties of her church. The missionaries which England sent to her sister island came with spears and swords in their hands; and their ministration was a series of rapine and murder.

The ancient kingdom of Ireland made no conquests, though she had boldly and successfully resisted, in Britain, the extension of the Roman empire. The ancient church of Ireland never persecuted, though she combated everywhere the encroachments of the Roman See.

The first work of Henry, upon his invasion of Ireland, was to procure a council of the Irish church to be convened. At this council the national church of Ireland, which had been free and independent for nearly a thousand years, received the yoke of Rome. Henry thought, perhaps, that a free church would not have suited a dependent kingdom.

It is true that the popes had been busy in Ireland before this period; but the little success which had attended their efforts is, perhaps, the true secret of the bull of Adrian the Fourth, of infamous memory. This pontiff most likely conceived that the readiest way to bring the Irish church into obedience to the Roman See was to urge Henry to the conquest of the kingdom: he was right; there is a sympathy of slavery as of freedom. When the spirit of a nation bows to a civil yoke, it is prepared to submit to ecclesiastical dominion: the dominion of Rome was never fully established in Ireland, till Henry was declared her liege lord, at the head of a powerful army. This needs no comment.

We have said what the ancient church of Ireland was; we have told of its piety, its learning, its zeal, its great deeds and renown in the world; we have told of its missionaries, in the cause of religion and learning, and the testimony that remains of their devotedness and zeal; we have pointed to the schools and colleges which existed and adorned the island, while this church flourished, and to their thousands of students; we have observed, that all this was accomplished without tithe, or any such exactions under colour of law. No panegyric of ours can add any thing to these well-established

facts. These are sufficient to give us the character of this church.

Ireland has in our day two churches; those who would know their character, must make the same enquiries. What have they done? Where are the volumes that attest their pious labours? In what nations have they made themselves a name? Where are the schools they have founded? Where are those they have instructed gratuitously? Look into the interior of Ireland; examine the state of the country; go amongst those flocks who have double shepherds, — and you need enquire no more: you have the character of these churches.

Usher, and other writers upon Irish ecclesiastical affairs, laboured to shew that the ancient church of Ireland differed widely from the church of Rome. That there were important distinctions it was easy to prove; but when they undertook to establish that the former agreed in all material points with the reformed church of England, we think they failed. The ancient church of Ireland was more pure and perfect than either.

COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH.

THE college of Maynooth rose out of the changes brought about by the French Revolution. The war drove the Catholic students from the colleges of the Continent. The Roman Catholic bishops proposed to provide a domestic education for the youth intended for the church of Rome in Ireland. Government fell in with these views, and the college of Maynooth was founded. This was a great novelty in Ireland. Great advantages, however, were expected to be derived from it.

The youth educated here, free from all foreign prejudice against Britain, and all external taint of disloyalty, were to go forth the best of subjects; full of gratitude towards the state, and reverence for state authorities. The Catholic priesthood from henceforth, if not preachers of the Gospel, were certain at least of being zealous apostles of loyalty and obedience to the laws. We do not mean to say that this

did not take place; but we are certain that it did not to the extent which was anticipated.

Before the establishment of this college, the Catholic youth intended for the priesthood were for the most part educated on the Continent. There they certainly met with prejudices against England; but by no means equal to those they left at home. The prejudices of the Continent were mingled with respect and admiration; in Ireland, the prejudices of the people were mingled with no respect. England was only known as the cause of innumerable calamities to the country; she was only known in the cruelties she had committed, the tyranny she had exercised, and the injustice which marked every hour of her domination. There was a rooted and rancorous enmity in the popular mind.

The youth intended for the Catholic ministry were taken generally from the middle and lower classes of the people — those classes in which prejudice abounded most. When sent abroad for their education, they enlarged their views, and rubbed away much of their prejudices. They mingled also, upon the Continent, with men of rank and knowledge of the world, and of extensive information. Their manners were improved by polite association; for they were

scattered over a vast field, strewed with varieties of character, and with cultivated minds, and the diversified intellect of many nations. And they returned to their native country improved in their manners, with their national prejudices smoothed down by foreign collision, and their enmity greatly subdued towards a nation whose praise and whose greatness they had been accustomed to hear magnified, and exalted in the mouths of foreigners.

The Catholic clergy of that day often enjoyed on the Continent that most valuable portion of education, — polite and liberal association. Their views of the world, and of mankind, were enlarged and corrected; and they came to the ministry generally at more mature age, and with minds better disciplined in the school of useful experiences, than it is now the practice of that clergy to do.

Taken altogether, we think the old clergy of the Catholic church were a highly respectable body of men. They are now nearly extinct. But we can remember some of them. Mild, amiable, cultivated, learned, polite, — uniting the meek spirit of the Christian pastor to the winning gentleness of the polished man of the world. They were welcome guests at the

tables of the Protestant gentry, where they were well qualified to sit and bring a full and overflowing cup to the intellectual banquet. At the tables of their own communion they lent their influence to sooth the asperities of the time; and they brought their knowledge of mankind, and of their own and foreign nations, to enforce their lessons of patience, fortitude, and forbearance.

Those who knew the celebrated "Father O'Leary" may have some idea of this character. There were many of these excellent men more polished, none more amiable: gay, kind, learned, pious, faithful to his sovereign, and attached to the constitution, he devoted his powerful talents to fix the unsettled foundations of society in Ireland. The name he had made, and the influence he had acquired, were employed to shield his country from the desolation of new conflicts. He was truly a minister of peace; and his labours were such as became such a ministration — the labours of the church and the closet. He was seen upon no public or profane arena, contending for power and direction in tumultuous assemblies. The reverend orators of aggregate meetings might have studied this distinguished and good man with much profit.

The preaching of Dr. O'Leary was very peculiar; — occasionally pathetic and profound, he would sometimes indulge in sarcasm, and representations irresistibly comical. He threw over the vice or folly which he lashed such a fool's coat as stuck to it for ever. Those who could not be reclaimed by grave rebuke, shrunk with horror from the ludicrous exhibition. His writings are a model of gay, graceful, and elegant composition. In whatever he wrote or said, the kind heart and gentle and cultivated spirit were prominent and visible.

We have noticed Dr. O'Leary, because his character and his life may serve to illustrate and to mark an era in the Roman Catholic church of Ireland. About this time the population in Ireland began to increase rapidly, and the supply of clergy for the church was not equal to the demand. When the new establishment began to work, it was called upon to send out its students, young, raw, and badly prepared; — with little more than some knowledge of the Latin tongue, some ill-digested scholastic learning, a partial acquaintance with the fathers, and the conceits of a puerile logic. With these acquisitions, they came out also laden with the prejudices of those classes of society from which they were taken. They had brought these with

them into college as into a hot-bed, where they had grown, and been nourished by the closeness of the place, rather than destroyed by exposure to the open air of a large and diversified society. There was more of the spirit of Rome at Maynooth than at Rome itself. And we are sure that the Pope has less of popery in his mind and character than some of the young students of that college.

We speak generally; for to this there are many and honourable exceptions. Men have come forth from this college worthy of being, not the disciples of Rome, but the restorers of the ancient church of Ireland; such as it was before Romish intrigue and British power sapped its foundations, and laid it in the dust. The clergy of the establishment do not represent the ancient church of Ireland. The pastors of that ancient church had flocks to tend, and had no tithe; these extraordinary pastors have tithes and no flocks.

The church of Rome in Ireland is undoubtedly the successor, if not the representative, of the ancient Irish church. Deprived of the tithe, her clergy have not been deprived of the people. What they have lost, and what they have retained, are both circumstances greatly in

their favour: we should be glad to see them turning their attention to an enquiry into the doctrines and constitution of the ancient church of their country, and asserting their independence, as the successors of Patrick and Columbkill. The college of Maynooth may yet be of important service to Ireland; if it shall, in process of time, hoist the standard of her ancient church, and vindicate, against foreign dominion, the spiritual liberties of the people. We do not despair of such a bright event: when it shall take place, Ireland may become what she was before — the religious instructress of the world, a land of learning, and an "Island of Saints."

She had long groaned under a double yoke of intolerable tyranny. The iron despotism of England, which galled her neck for ages, and the leaden dominion of Rome, that bowed down her spirit. The genius of Grattan broke the yoke of England, and gave freedom and a constitution to his country. Nor shall we always look in vain for some bright spirit to arise in the church, to call back the memory of long-forgotten glories, and to make that work complete which Grattan commenced, by adding to civil liberty religious freedom.

Whosoever shall accomplish this work, will be worthy to have his name enshrined with Patrick's and with Grattan's, in the everlasting gratitude of the people.

CATHOLIC BOARD — POPULAR ASSEMBLIES.

THE Catholic Board, which some years since excited so much interest and attention, has, without any assigned cause, declined into insignificance, and almost disappeared. This formidable Board, which combated the whole force of government, and withstood the attacks of the Attorney-general, has sunk beneath the weight of its own indiscretions.

In its origin, it was no more than a committee of gentlemen for the management of Catholic petitions. The first members of this committee were men of distinguished talents, such as Curry, Keough, and others. These, when the Catholics could not rely so much, as they have since done, upon their wealth and numbers, threw a grace and dignity about their proceedings. The mild manners and learning of Curry, the talents and eloquence of Keough, gave to their cause, not the aspect of an effort on behalf of a creed,

but the grandeur of a national struggle for freedom.

These were succeeded by men of bad taste, and no discretion. The vulgar bigotry of Drumgole, and the coarse declamation of others, who now assumed to be leaders, gave the committee the semblance of a popish club, denouncing its adversaries, and labouring to set up the infallible standard of Rome; rather than of a committee of Catholic gentlemen, taking measures to establish the liberties of their native land. The Protestant friends of freedom, and of the Catholics, became alarmed and disgusted at this odious phenomenon. They looked with terror and dislike at the new features of menacing and malignant vulgarity, which the Board assumed. And when the members proceeded to increase their numbers, and to assume the port and attitude of a representative body, fear fell upon the public of the Protestant belief, and the best friends of the people became languid in their cause, if not hostile to it.

But the Agitators, as they were called (and they acknowledged the appellation), went on triumphing, and their victories were signalized by the melancholy step of some of the best friends and ablest advocates of emancipation quitting

the field. To stop this, and prevent the utter ruin of their cause, the wise and moderate amongst the Catholic body made a manful struggle. These were termed, partly in truth, and partly in derision, "The Natural Leaders." They comprised a large majority of the Catholic gentlemen of Ireland; the educated and the wealthy.

In the committee-room, and in all places where property and intellect had their due weight, these had no occasion for contest; they were immeasurably the stronger party. But it was open to the "Agitators" to appeal to the populace; and here they were sure of victory. The mob is the most intolerant and intolerable of tyrants; —a blind and ferocious despot, with whom suspicion is proof, and any thing is suspicion. It was easy to excite the people, jealous to an extreme of the measures of government, into the most vehement hostility to any which might be proposed. The Veto became the darling topic of the Agitators: with this magic wand they exorcised the passions of the people, until they ran mountains high.

The swelling of the popular tide bore away even the gravity and sanctity of the priesthood. A clergy so much dependant upon the people as that of the church of Rome in Ireland, can

not be often found, in a speculative question between the people and the government, upon the side of the latter. The Agitators understood this; and now they hallooed the people to terrify the clergy, lest there should be any wavering amongst them; and now they brought forward the clergy, in solemn and imposing procession, to fix the people, and aid the working of the great machinery, which was to vest the plenitude of popular power in their own hands — a power to be reserved for some great and expected occasion.

We do not here enter into the question of the Veto; in our opinion, a very unimportant one. On the part of government, it was an attempt to acquire some influence with the Roman church of Ireland. It was resisted, on the part of the people, because they were told that such an influence could not fail to be dangerous to the liberties of the country. We think it would not have affected the liberties of the people; and, we apprehend, it would not have increased the influence of government in the country.

With the same view, it has frequently been proposed to add to the emoluments of the Catholic clergy out of the public purse. We think this also would fail. Whenever government, by any such means, obtains influence with the clergy,

these will lose their influence with the people. The Roman Catholic clergy are supposed to be lords and masters of the people in Ireland; and so they are, when they do not travel out of the line in which the popular passions and prejudices run. When they quit this, they are nothing. If they exercise dominion over the people, the popular spirit also re-acts upon the fathers of the church, and asserts an authority not to be disputed.

A wise and just government, in Ireland, will make friends of the people, and of the clergy; and, without this, vetoes and pensions will avail nothing. A pensioned clergy, in Ireland, would fail to drag the people to the footstool of the government; and having tried and failed, they would not hesitate to go with the people, in any question where these parties were at issue. The Veto, or the pension-system, might be dangerous to the authority of the clergy with the people; but would have no effect upon the liberties of the country. Have the tithes and estates of the Protestant church made the people of that communion the servile slaves of government? The only effect of such a system would be, probably, to compel the clergy to give the people the fullest proof that these new measures did not convert them into tools of government.

The opposers of the Veto succeeded. They got possession of the clergy, who were partly afraid of the measure, and partly afraid of the people. It was curious to observe, upon this occasion, the Ultra-Protestants and the Ultra-Catholics acting cordially together, in opposition to the proposed measure for the relief of the Catholics. So cordial was the sympathy of the parties, that Mr. Peel was chosen to present the petition of Father Hayes. This Reverend Father, who was expelled Rome for being more popish than the Pope, found a sanctuary in the bosom of Mr. Peel.

It is easy to obtain the popular ear, and tickle it with coarse declamation — the sort of semi-sedition of which it is so greedy. It is easy to describe the indignity and oppression which the people suffer, and have suffered, under the laws — to bring home to their feelings and recollections the most galling and irritating truths. All these are at the command of the popular orator; and, with these, it requires little talent to lead the crowd where you choose.

It was extraordinary, that in conducting a great and difficult question, like that of the repeal of the penal laws, appeal should be constantly made to the lowest populace; and that the Catholic gentle-

men of Ireland should have submitted what was dearest and most important to them, to the arbitration of irritated and ignorant mobs. These assemblies, called aggregate meetings, were often collected and guided by the meanest and most shameful artifices. It was usual for some low retainer of the Anti-Veto party, when preparing for a meeting, to go out into the lanes and alleys of the town where it was to be held, and drive in the profligate and drunken tradesmen, full of zeal for the church, and the beggars and labourers of the neighbourhood. These, when brought together, formed the great body of an aggregate meeting. A few hundreds of such persons became, in Dublin, "the Catholics of Ireland;" and in Cork, or Limerick, "the Catholics of the city and county;" and this gross and foolish falsehood has continued even till now. In these meetings there were generally a small proportion of zealous Catholics of the middle classes, and a few gentlemen of rank were sometimes to be seen upon the platform; but, over all these, the mob and their managers held supreme dominion.

It was obvious, that the "Board," which was understood to be the organ of the "Catholics of Ireland," could not, under such a system, retain its respectability. As aggregate meetings

became contemptible, the Board ceased to command respect. Gentlemen of the first rank and fortune, though courted, perhaps, for the authority their names conferred, found they were intended as mere pageants, stripped of all influence and power. The managers of mob-meetings were willing enough to use these good gentlemen as part of the show, and to exhibit their names as actors in the scene. But if they did not speak the speech according to the prompter's book, they were threatened with his high indignation.

The displeasure of the clergy, and the rage of the people, were held up to scare them from any effort to regain their natural weight and influence. Men of this order are often timid, and will not court such contests. The gentry of the Roman Catholic religion are particularly so. They withdrew from the struggle; and the affairs of the Catholic body were surrendered into the hands of the "Agitators."

These, now in the plenitude of their power, ceased to have any. The Board was gone; and the voice of the mob was but a sound, "signifying nothing."

ORANGE SOCIETIES.

The association of United Irishmen produced the Orange Association. Extremes produce each other. The United Irish Association, criminal as it was, and disastrous to the country, yet combined in the declared objects of its composition some of the best principles of our nature;—love of country, and a high-minded sacrifice of every prejudice, religious and political, to the common good. This Society announced a "union of affection among Irishmen of every religious denomination," as the new principle of its organization.

The Orange Society was the embodied spirit of the penal laws. Its object was to perpetuate the religious and political divisions and distractions of the country, and to profit by them. The spirit of Orangeism had existed for ages in Ireland; it only now put on its livery, and displayed its glaring insignia.

Orangeism sprang up in the northern Irish counties, where also the United Irish Association had its birth. It is remarkable, that the Orangemen recruited extensively from the ranks of the "United Irish." Many had joined these ranks who had little principle or patriotism. These were faithful, while impunity and success marched in the van of the new-raised battalions; and when these forsook the cause, they went with them, and joined the host of the enemy: others were panic-struck, or affected to be so, at the proceedings of their Romish confederates of the South. Disgusted with such allies, they were easily persuaded to abandon a doubtful and dangerous cause.

However it was,—the North, which had been the fountain and head-quarters of the "United Irish;" which had been zealous to the uttermost in sending forth its emissaries and apostles of disloyalty; which, under the specious pretences of patriotism and liberality, had seduced the people of the South from their allegiance to their sovereign, and deluded them into guilt and folly; — when the hour came, and the Southerns with a gallantry and devotedness which would have been above all praise, if they had been displayed in a better cause, stood to their arms, and fought and died with more than heroism and fidelity, in the field and on the

scaffold; at this hour, the men of the North shrank from their engagements. Illuminated with a new and sudden view of their duties, they were not satisfied with deserting the standard they had raised, but many of them added, as we have said, treachery to bad faith, and placed themselves under the safer flag of the Orange Societies. The din of the battle-field, where their countrymen were dying, brought back their affections from the dangerous novelties of reform and liberality, to the shelter of those old principles and practices by which their fathers had profited.

Do we then reprobate this defection, by which, perhaps, the country was saved? We answer, that the desertion was a virtue — the inlistment under the flag of Orangeism a crime. — If the Northerns had sincerely returned to their allegiance, even though it was late when they did so, and the conflict was already begun, which they had prepared in the South, it would have been cause for unqualified satisfaction. But when the northern counties presented, just at that moment, a sudden array of Orangemen, and the whole country reddened with a new principle almost as pernicious, and infinitely more contemptible than that which was renounced; there was something in all this, which, though it called for our gratulation, could not fail to excite our disgust.

As the United Irish system had spread itself from the North over the rest of Ireland, so did the system of the Orange Societies. All Ireland was soon infected with this yellow leprosy. The objects of the United Irishmen, erroneous as they were, yet referred to the country at large, and embraced all classes of the people. The objects of the new association were exclusive and selfish. They went not beyond the immediate interests of the parties; and the general weal of the country, or the interests of other classes of their countrymen, were far from their contemplation. To these, on the contrary, they were opposed.

The principle of the Orange Association was to uphold the Protestant ascendancy, to maintain, and, if possible, secure a monopoly of power, place, and profit; and to these views, to sacrifice, without reserve, all national interest and feeling. It was founded upon a systematic degradation of the great body of the people; and the consequent disgrace and prostration of the country, for purposes the most selfish and corrupt.

There is not, in the history of any nation, an instance of a more profligate and detestable conspiracy, than that of the Orangemen of Ireland. Most political associations that we know

of have professed to have views embracing the general interests of the country, and extending to the mass of the people. The objects of this Society were purely and professedly selfish. And of this, their disgrace and opprobrium, they were in the habit of making a guilty and disgusting parade. It belongs fortunately to human nature to be sensible of its shame, and to seek to conceal the filth of its degrading propensities. But when it happens that crowds concur in the indulgence of some base passion, and lend each other a guilty countenance, then are we condemned to see all the decencies of human nature cast aside, and the world is shocked at the display of a hardened and shameless effrontery,—the parade of wickedness and folly glorying in disgrace!

The orgies of this Association were as odious as its principle. Its periodical exhibitions were commemorations of deadly feuds, — of defeat and ruin inflicted upon many thousands of families and individuals; the ancestors of these exhibitors, or those of their countrymen. We can understand the commemoration of Waterloo, or Salamanca; or, under Bonaparte, the celebration of Austerlitz, or Marengo. These were all national triumphs. But the civil wars of France, or of England, furnished no subject of

perpetual commemoration to either of these nations. If those nations have not escaped the guilt and misery of civil conflict, yet they have never stooped to the degradation of festivities to perpetuate the memory of their discords.

If it be said that these Associations celebrate events which put the parties, or their ancestors, in possession of the land and the political power of the country, and that it is natural to rejoice in the memory of fortunate occurrences; —we ask by what processions and exhibitions do the descendants of the Norman nobility celebrate the battle of Hastings, and insult the Saxon-descended population of England? Who is it that rejoices publicly in the death of a brother; and proclaims his guilty exultation in the face of day, because he has profited by his decease, and succeeded to his inheritance? But if his hand be yet red with a brother's blood, — no matter what was the cause of the quarrel, or how unavoidable it might have been, — will not the good sense, and common feeling of mankind, turn away with shuddering from the ruthless barbarian, whose heart no lapse of time can soften; whom no reflection upon the woes of human kind, and the mutability of human affairs, can bring back to gentleness and feeling; who is still found exhausting the cup of

riot over a brother's grave, and sending forth, from time to time, the loud yell of triumph, as he surveys the bones of the long-decayed victim?

These are also said to be religious triumphs. The triumphs of a purer faith over the errors and superstitions of Rome. It may be so. — These may be the triumphs of Protestantism, for any thing we know. But we know what is Christianity; and we are sure that Christianity rejects and abhors them. Are these Christians who carry the banners of ancient and bloody feuds — whose principle is insult and injury towards their own countrymen, and whose occupation is to sow discord and dissension in their native land? Turn over the leaves of the Gospel, and you will see that these men are not Christians — no matter what may be their pretences, or how they may call themselves: they may be good partizans, perhaps good Protestants, but they are not Christians.

The law of the Gospel will not compromise with our vices. He whose heart is so base, so corrupted by the sweets of triumph, so filled with the fatness of the spoil, and the pride of power, as to dwell for ever with a gloating and disgusting recurrence upon the blood that was

shed, and the misery that was suffered, to purchase these advantages; — who is such an enthusiast in depravity and hardness of heart, as to rake into the records of past ages, to find materials of uncharitableness; and, with a gratuitous and unnecessary zeal, to identify himself with the guiltiness of those dark and dread transactions, and to claim a share in the crimes of those who are gone to their account; — such a man can have no part in the law of "loving kindness," he cannot be counted among the servants of the God of peace and love. The Orange Societies may have shaken off the yoke of Rome, but they are quite as free from the yoke of the Gospel.

We have heard of Romish saints, from the treasury of whose supererogatory merits their votaries might be supplied for ages with cheap and sterling virtues; but the Orangemen of Ireland have founded a treasury of a rarer kind, in the enormities of the civil wars of Ireland, — whence they may furnish themselves with an abundant supply of crimes and atrocities, which they have not themselves had the power or the courage to perpetrate.

There are considerations connected with this subject which press themselves forcibly upon the minds of reasonable men, but have little

chance of having weight with fanatics in politics or religion. We might urge the changefulness of human affairs — the continual shifting of the place of power — the danger of a principle which opposes and insults the majority of a great nation. Is it impossible that Great Britain may yet be the scene of new political struggles? What then? Will the great and warlike population of Ireland have weight in the scale of politics — or this feeble faction of fanatics? Have these men been dreaming while Ireland has doubled and trebled her population — while all the nations of Europe have changed their relations and positions?

The public mind of Europe is heaving fearfully with the first-flowing of the great tide of new events which is coming upon the world. Ireland will be washed clean with its wave, and all her old abominations be cleansed. The throne of the monarch will endure, for it rests upon the solid basis of the Constitution, and the firmer foundation of the people's love. But all else will be renewed; and this tawny symbol will be swept away for ever.

CORPORATIONS. — GRAND JURIES.

THE selfishness of human nature makes it almost impossible that Corporations should not be corrupt. Give to any body of men the means of profiting by their own wickedness, and they will become wicked. Corporations possess, to a certain extent, and for certain purposes, the power of taxing the people. It was easy to extend this taxation insensibly, and under various pretences, beyond what was permitted, and to apply it otherwise than was originally intended; — hence illegal tolls, and corporate jobs.

Corporations comprised, at first, the chief population of the towns; afterwards they became close bodies, opposed to the population, and making profit of them. They were independent of control, by nominating to their own body; and they fortified themselves in their privileges and powers, by the important right of representation. These corrupt bodies were re-

presented in parliament; and this representation was the shield of their abuses.

It may be thought, that corporations comprise too great a number of persons to be corrupt; especially, when very amiable and excellent individuals can be pointed out as members of these bodies — individuals, in their private capacity, of the strictest integrity, and highest honor. But numbers are no corrective of corruption; neither is the integrity of the individual any security for the honesty of the corporate body. Nothing combines and consolidates a numerous body so effectually as a common corruption. Men will differ upon all other subjects; but there is little disagreement, where the interest of the parties are alike. Dissent, if it lift its voice at all, does it so feebly, and is so easily subdued into a gentle murmuring, and then hushed into silence, by a thousand plausible arguments, or the apparent hopelessness of contending with old and inveterate abuses; that in a little while nothing is heard but the hum of the busy plunderers, appropriating the sweet spoil.

The man of integrity is perhaps a man of peace: he does not like to offend, or, notwithstanding his virtues, he has probably somewhat of the "*esprit-de-corps;*" — his share of the pro-

fit is besides so trifling, and he despises it, perhaps, so thoroughly, that his conscience is at peace on this score; and the corporation to which he belongs is at peace also.

Corporations wholly at the will of a single powerful individual are sometimes less pernicious than others. Such an individual may be a wise and good man. Corporations which are too large to be grasped by one hand can never have their corruptions purified in the healthy current of private virtue. A numerous body, once corrupt, must ever continue so; it cannot purge its own corruptions.

Corporations can support themselves against the public interest, and the public feeling, in various ways. By their convenient subserviency to power, they become its instruments, and obtain its favour; and by means of non-resident freemen, they extend their influence with the middle orders of gentry. These can never have any interest in opposing the corporations, but some, in maintaining their ascendency. They do not feel the pressure of corporate jobs and taxes; and are so dispersed as to find it necessary to have a centre of union, in obedience to their creator, the corporation. We have seen where the individuals of a little faction, being free of half-a-

dozen corporations, were able to decide the elections for members to serve in parliament, in them all; contrary to the sense of a large majority of the resident electors of each. We have seen them, upon such an occasion, going their circuit, from town to town, and triumphing as they went; until the liberties of an extensive district lay at their feet, utterly prostrate and overthrown.

While the public slumbers and is careless, it is the nature of corporations to be wakeful and busy, in increasing their power. Corporate bodies sleep not; they possess the secret of perpetual motion, and discover in their unceasing and insensible encroachments an energy and sagacity peculiar to themselves. Through their representatives in parliament, and other means, they procure acts of the legislature, which pass, almost as of course, and almost without notice; which, with more than the magic of the Arabian lamp, can build up in an hour the beautiful and enchanting machinery of innumerable boards, commissioners, and trustees, furnished with the fascinating power of taxation.

It is surprising what burdens and abuse the public is able to endure; but the abuses which are every where inherent in corporations are greatly aggravated in Ireland. Here they are not merely pestilent masses of political corrup-

tion, but they are also the poisoned sources of religious rancour. Corporations in Ireland may be as corrupt as possible, but they must be Protestant. This very necessity adds greatly to the corruption, as it narrows still more the corporate circle, and makes an exclusion within exclusion. In England, corporations, therefore, are not so corrupt as in the other country, where much of the material which ought to go to their composition is Catholic.

The monopoly becomes more profitable as it centres in fewer hands. Hence the fearful struggles which the Irish corporations make against religious liberty. Hence it is that they are, for the most part, not Protestant merely, but Orange. They drank greedily of the bitter spirit of this uncharitable faction, — the charmed powder of dead men's bones: it promised them protection from the dreadful spectre of liberality, which they saw hovering about the legislature, and threatening, from time to time, their loved monopolies and profits. The total repeal of the penal laws will destroy the root of Orangeism in Ireland, and bring back corporations to the simplicity of pure unmingled corruption — and from questions of national policy to the more humble and congenial pursuits of filthy jobs, and the advantages to be derived from the affectation of boundless, though no longer exclusive loyalty.

Connected with corporations, is the subject of Grand Juries; upon which we are compelled to say a word. The jobs and taxation of grand juries in Ireland have been much complained of, and some attempts have been made to find a remedy, but as yet in vain. Where, indeed, can a remedy be found for that want of principle which is the natural growth of the state of society in that country? and this state of society has been produced by the working of a system of laws, which could do no other than corrupt and deprave. Party-spirit has no principle, no honour, no conscience. It will rob, plunder, and betray without a blush. The man who, in private life, will be just and blameless, will, in his connection with party, descend, without scruple, into the common pollution; and if the touch of a gentle compunction press slightly upon his heart, he will throw the blame upon the necessity of the case, or reduce his share to nothing by the participation of his numerous associates — all honorable men.

Catholic gentlemen are admissible as grand jurors; but this hardly serves the case. They are few; and we are not aware that they are at all more pure or honorable than their Protestant countrymen. We bring no charge against the Protestant or Catholic gentlemen of Ireland. It

would hardly have been possible for either to have escaped the influence of bad laws. It was of little use to make Catholics eligible as grand jurors, so long as the remnant of the penal code was suffered to exist; and when it shall be taken away, its spirit will for a time survive it.

The object of legislation should be, not to give the Catholics power or importance, but to take away from Protestants the exclusive possession of them. The statesman should know no man's religion. It is because the laws are partial and unjust, that the policy of government is so unsteady and unwise. With one viceroy or secretary, the Catholics are objects of peculiar favour; with another, of marked neglect: both are wrong.

It may be thought, that grand jurors must be checked by feeling themselves subject to the taxes they impose. But there are many striking instances how little this operates as a check upon taxation. Besides, landlords do not feel these taxes directly and immediately: they fall upon the tenantry; and, if they reach the landlord, it is remotely or contingently.

Corporation and grand jury taxes act upon the general taxes of the state, and greatly dimi-

nish their productiveness. The city and county rates have closed many a window and hearth, and removed the wine from many a table, and taken the meat out of the tradesman's pot, and deprived him of his porter, bringing him back from the luxury of malt liquor to the simplicity of the limpid brook. If government would have the general taxes productive, they should look closely to those other bodies, who share with them the privilege of taxing the people.

Taxation by grand juries and corporations, to so large an amount, is contrary to the spirit of the British constitution, insomuch, as it is taxation without representation. Formerly, when the money raised in this way was very inconsiderable, this deviation from principle was of no moment; but the case is now otherwise. These taxes are very serious things; and such a power should hardly be vested in bodies so chosen, and constituted, as grand juries and corporations in Ireland are.

It must be admitted, that many useful public works have owed their existence to jobs. The public are indebted for some fine roads to the profit which certain individuals proposed to make of them; but the public have paid too dearly for these advantages, and the time is past when they could afford to be careless accountants.

The corruption which, in Ireland, pervades most public bodies, and taints, for the most part, all private individuals within reach of the public purse, so as to deaden and destroy all principle, where interest is concerned, has had its source in that fountain of all evil, the penal laws. These threw all power and profit into the hands of one class of persons, and effectually corrupted them — it was a natural and inevitable result. There has been no public principle in Ireland for ages; all is a mass of corruption. The Protestant was corrupted by power, the Catholic by degradation. The laws put into the hands of the former, as corporators, as grand jurors, as tithe-owners, as assessors of church-rates in vestry, as commissioners, and in a thousand other ways,—the purse-strings of the latter; and they have been so long used to this extravagant privilege, that they came to consider it at length as their right, and a portion of their inheritance, to use the property of the public without reserve or compunction, and they would even be surprised and offended if questioned upon such a score.

The penal laws destroyed any thing like a public in Ireland; they left only two parties, without any check of public opinion to control the one, or to protect the other. When, at length, the relaxation of the penal code, and the natural growth of the nation, had produced

something like a public, both parties were too much and too long accustomed to the abuse to be greatly shocked by it. The public voice was feeble, and the spirit of peculation was hardened. Catholics, too, as they grew into importance, were sometimes permitted to share in the spoil, and learned to be content.

We consider this evil to be past the cure of common-place regulations and ordinary acts of parliament; it is too inveterate, and too strongly intrenched, not to defy such feeble assaults; it can be attacked, with effect, in its strong hold only — in its great citadel of the ascendancy. While in possession of this, it will look, with calm derision, upon your laborious operations upon its outworks; safe in the interior of the fortress, it will surrender to you, post after post, with the full assurance of again recovering them.

There are politicians, perhaps, who think that this state of things has its uses; that though the great tower of the ascendancy keeps the country in perpetual disquiet, and sends out, every now and then, parties to forage the land, and to exhaust it, yet it may serve, on emergency, as a place of strength for the government; and that the disorderly conduct of the troops may be overlooked in consideration of their fidelity.

We think this is a mistake, and may be a fatal one. Time was, it is true, when this tower was able to overawe the country; but that time is past; at present it merely irritates; and nothing but the strong arm of England keeps the flag flying upon it.

We would advise to take down the tower, and trust to the people; take away party, and oppression, and corruption, and the people will be faithful. Without this, the tower will be blown into the air the first opportunity; and the convulsion will shake the foundation of the empire.

TENURES.

In England, the land is held by the proprietors, generally, in fee; and under these, by their tenantry, upon short leases and easy rents. A different order of things prevails, for the most part, in Ireland. Frequently the possessor of the fee has but little interest in the land, and his tenants are often seen to take a place in society far above him. These hold at small, or almost nominal rents, upon leases for ever, or for terms of years amounting in imagination to a perpetuity; and they possess a numerous subordinate tenantry, who have generally no concern with, or knowledge of, the owner of the fee.

This species of tenure had its origin in various ways: it grew out of the mutual fears and enmities of Catholics and Protestants, and the calami-

ties of the country. During the civil wars, a landholder of Irish race, or of the Catholic religion, fell, generally, whether guilty or innocent, with the mass of his name and kindred. In the conflict of the passions and of blood, there was no one to listen to his plea, or to examine into the nature of his justification. To suppose him guilty, was a shorter, as well as a more profitable, course; it saved trouble, and it added to the spoil.

No sooner was the sword drawn, than every one, connected by kindred or creed with the combatants, trembled for his possessions. It was felt that innocence was but a feeble protection, and that even zeal and activity, when arrayed in opposition to these powerful obligations, was suspected and disliked. The renegade was more odious than the enemy. When the perils of the field were past, and there was peace for a little season, then came the far more cruel scourge, that most dreadful instrument of despotism, the inquisition into titles.

There is an excitement in open warfare, a putting forth of the passions, in all their energy and power, which atones, in some measure, for its inflictions. Its miseries are covered over with a flood of warm emotions, and we are consoled even while we perish. But the cold and

measured process of civil oppression desolates the heart: there is no play of the passions, as in the deep game of war, to cheer it; no delusive hope to flatter and to soothe it. — The iron arm of despotism inflicts a cold and bloodless agony upon its victim, and presses him to death.

The inquisition into titles was a device of consummate wickedness. It was a scheme of government to extract money from the people under false and fraudulent pretences. It was worthy the minister of Charles to question titles more valid than his own. If this unhappy prince, and his profligate minister*, felt what it was to deal with unjust and merciless judges, they set the example.

To escape the risks of war, and the more dreaded dangers of peace, the small proprietors, of obnoxious race or religion, hastened to place themselves under the shield of some lord, whom fortune or talent had raised to power. They conveyed their lands to him in fee, and took back leases, at nominal rents, for long terms of years. This created a connection useful to the lord, as it increased the number of those who had an interest in his power, while it afforded

* Lord Strafford: see cap. on the Policy of England.

the weaker party a protection no where else to be obtained. Some of those great lords, too, who had been thrown up into power, in the long course of these civil eruptions, conveyed back their lands to the original proprietors, for long terms and small rents; for many a generous spirit extricates itself, and shines more brightly, for having been involved in the smoke and fire of national conflagration.

In this way some of these long terms came into being; but far the greater number had another origin. They grew out of the penal laws; which, taking away from Roman Catholics the power of taking long leases, left the great proprietors at the mercy of the comparatively small number of Protestant tenantry, who were disposed to take lands, the title-deeds of which were still wet with the blood of various claimants. Many of these proprietors, also, were anxious to quit a country where all the charities of life were turned into incurable bitterness, and whence all the elegancies and refinements of society seemed banished for ever. Many were disposed to set little value upon acquisitions, of which the next turn in the tide of politics might change all the land-marks. They gave leases, therefore, freely, to the few persons willing to take them, at such rents as were offered, and for

what terms required. The competition was not so much amongst the tenants for the lands, as between the landlords for tenants.

Those landholders whom circumstances compelled to reside in Ireland were forced to adopt the same course. If their lands were of recent acquisition, they leased to any one qualified by law, and bold enough to face the perils of such a tenancy. If the proprietors of lands had been at liberty to make leases to Roman Catholics, these would have been contented to take moderate terms, and to pay reasonable rents. They were weary of war, and after the peace of Limerick, they had no disposition to disturb, or hope of changing, an order of things to which every day, and every event, gave strength and consistency. The old systems had worn themselves out; the old families were scattered, or extinct; every thing tended to peace, when certain inappeasable spirits commenced their campaign of ferocious legislation. But they did not discern that they were about to pass a sentence of beggary upon their posterity; that they were, in effect, conveying away the lands for which they had fought and bled, and which they were so anxious to secure, even by a legislation passing beyond the bounds of reason and humanity.

We have an instance very near us of this curious and instructive process of re-action,—the spirit of injustice executing judgment on itself. Not many years since, the gentlemen of the north of Ireland, who had encouraged the formation of Orange societies, in that part of the country, looked on with quiet complacency, while the deluded rabble exercised their new functions, and exhibited their loyalty by persecuting to death, or banishment, the unoffending Catholics. But the banditti, who had commenced these operations in the most disinterested malignity, soon began to taste the sweets of triumph; and their zeal and activity greatly increased, when an unlooked for advantage came home to their pockets. As they drove out the Catholic tenantry, a number of farms became unoccupied, for which the landlords were very willing to take Protestant tenants. But the Protestant tenants were by no means willing to give the rents which the landlords required, and having now a monopoly of the market, they set about settling the rent of land; conceiving, very naturally, that if they had a right to determine who should be the occupier, they had the same right to settle what should be the rent. This was very clear, as to the right; as to the means, it was very easy, by narrowing the competition

to any degree, to reduce the rent to any level they might choose to fix.

It was very edifying to observe, how speedily, when things came to this point, the eyes of the landlords were opened to the injustice of persecution for conscience-sake, and to the dangers of party-spirit. They were touched with a sudden abhorrence of violence, and with a tender compassion for their suffering countrymen of the Catholic persuasion.

But the legislators of the reigns of William and Ann did not so quickly see their error, and they laid, in triumph, the axe to the root of their family fortunes. The rude soldier, who was stained with the blood of battle only, and was contented with his pay, and his few acres of land, and had no concern with the dark intrigues, or the darker passions of those days, was a man of much comparative purity. Cromwell's toil-worn veterans often refused to turn out the wretched children of the devoted peasant from their miserable home; and often granted back, for a small gratuity, or for none, the farms which were the reward of a long warfare.

Men of this class frequently preferred taking lands in a less objectionable way, and setting

themselves down among their new countrymen, without a stain upon their titles. As Protestant tenants this was easily accomplished; and they laid the foundations of numerous families, respectable first, as farmers, and next, in the progress of rent and population, as gentry of the middle order. The Cromwellian soldiers formed a numerous class of small proprietors, and wealthy tenants. These also often sold to their officers or others; and there are conveyances extant signed by all the non-commissioned officers and privates of troops and companies. The saintly usurper, in his short and murderous campaign in Ireland, effected greater changes in the property of the soil than had been accomplished for ages by the imbecile wickedness of his predecessors in power.

In these various ways arose those terms for hundreds, and thousands of years, and those leases renewable for ever, and those other extraordinary tenancies, where the farmers of extensive districts appeared to have a title to the land paramount to that of the owners of the fee. The habit of granting long terms for years, and leases for ever, which was introduced by the peculiar circumstances of the country, remained after these had changed, and continued to break up the influence of the great families, and to in-

troduce a new order of gentry, since called Middle-men.

The middle-man is a trader in land, who purchases or procures a lease, for the longest term he can get, and then disposes of his bargain in small portions, for as much as he can procure; and the annual profits repay his skill and trouble. The land-owner, who disposes of his estate to such a person as this, saves himself much trouble and obtains as much, perhaps, for his land, as he could do, by dealing directly with the cultivators. But he destroys the connection which ought to subsist between the owner of the soil and the farmer. He gives up his tenants, for they are still his, to be dealt with according to the discretion of a third party.

It must be owned that there is too much competition amongst the crowded peasantry, not to hold out great temptation to this agricultural trader to exact exorbitant prices for the indispensable commodity he has to dispose of — land. But he is not always a monster void of humanity; and there are a variety of considerations which come strongly in aid of his better feelings.

He has to do with a class of men as ready-witted, and often as unprincipled as himself, if

he be so; men who can oppose to his exactions the shield of a hard and impenetrable poverty, upon which he may exhaust his rage and his ingenuity, and be sure to be foiled; and in the depths of utter wretchedness, they will laugh at his embarrassments, and triumph in his defeat. He is aware that there is a line, in his dealings with the poor, completely as they seem to be in his power, which he must not go beyond. It is a sort of ideal, but very well defined boundary, running close upon the confines of oppression, and marking off where the rapacity of the middle-man must stay its paw, and lie down with the gentleness of the lamb. Beyond this is the domain of poverty: a poverty, fierce, indeed, when intruded upon, and sweeping away, in its vengeance, whatever craft, or power, or law, human or divine, may oppose to it. But if managed with a little humanity and address, within what narrow limits is it not contented, with what coarse and stinted fare, with what mean and squalid accommodation? The evil in Ireland is not that the poor exact so much, but that they are contented with so little. But this gives them a kind of independence, and supplies them with a sort of armour, which is proof, in ordinary times, against every weapon. They understand its temper thoroughly, and are apt to rely upon it too much.

The middle-man when he happens to be a man of humanity, is sometimes a very useful character. Without him, in many parts of the country, where the lands are the property of absentee proprietors, there would be no resident gentry, no magistracy, except, perhaps, the rector of the parish; none to look into the local economy, and take an interest in the little concerns of the poor. He is, perhaps, not a very good, or a very enlightened magistrate; but, rude and insufficient as he is, he is still useful to sustain the unsteady dome of society in this unlucky land; whence have been removed the great Corinthian pillars which ought to support it, to enrich and adorn, like those of Athens, a happier land.

As the penal laws gave rise to long leases, by forcing landlords to set to a certain class of tenants only, so Roman Catholics, above the rank of peasants, were, by the operation of the same laws, driven out of the trade of agriculture, and compelled, like the Jews, to betake themselves to pursuits of merchandise; and this led to the accumulation of much wealth in their hands. They resided chiefly in the towns; most of them had friends and connections who had been driven abroad by the events of the war. These, settling in the maritime towns of France and Spain, threw a gainful trade into

the hands of their relatives in Ireland. Hardly is there any calamity without its consolations. Many Irish families rose to a new eminence upon this foundation, which their misfortunes had prepared. They reaped at home, and still more abundantly in various other parts of the world, rich harvests, which were sown in their dispersion, and grew up, unlooked for, in the season of their suffering.

When the penal laws relaxed their severity, some of the long leases which those laws had created passed into the hands of the Catholics; and much of the wealth which these had acquired in trade, found its usual channel to the land. Some few families acquired, not the estates of their ancestors, but some portion of the ancient possessions of their race and kindred, held now by a double and a dearer title.

But there were few of the "*dispersion*" that returned to vest their wealth in the lands of their ancestors. New connections, new ties of country, and of kindred, and the fading away of old recollections, and the gradual loosing of the ancient bonds of family and friendship, forbad this. For the ancient families of rank, who had obtained power and distinction in foreign countries, there was little inducement to return to the

land of their fathers, where their names had, from the constant association of poverty and persecution, almost ceased to be polite, and where their wealth and honors might have excited jealousy, but could hardly have conciliated benevolence.

ABSENTEES.

The great number of non-resident Irish proprietors is one of the worst grievances of Ireland. This, like many other of the calamities which afflict that country, had its origin in the spirit of confiscation which the British government for a long period encouraged and gratified without measure. The grantees of confiscated lands were Englishmen of rank, or such as by these confiscations attained to sudden importance. Having got all that was to be obtained, they left the scene of their exploits, and good fortune, to enjoy their new wealth and importance in the land of their ancestors, and to unroll the emblazoned scroll of their newly acquired honors in the eye of the court. This was natural: Ireland, too, was no comfortable residence; full of heats, animosities, and distractions, it had little to recommend it as a place of abode. And it was a scene presenting no pleasant recollections to those who lost, or, per-

haps to those who won, in the sharp game which had been played for power and property.

The great Irish proprietors, therefore, very generally transferred the management of their estates in Ireland to agents, and their residence to Great Britain. They felt no duty of residence towards a country to which they were strangers, and a people who were enemies. They were but just come out of a deadly contest with those who were now to be their tenants and dependants. The smaller proprietors, however, were compelled to reside in Ireland by the narrowness of their circumstances, and some few of the greater land-holders, deeply engaged in Irish politics, continued to reside down to the UNION.

This great event, which altered the relations of the two islands, added considerably to the number of absentees. This was foreseen, but it was said that the advantages of the union would greatly outweigh the evil: which, however, has not been the case. But we do not doubt that good government in Ireland would not only contribute to counter-balance the evil, but greatly to reduce its force. Time has established new relationships between the descendants of the original grantees of Irish estates and their tenantry. There is no longer any enmity be-

tween them; and the moral obligation of residence, if it did not always exist, has, now at least, found a place among the changes which time has effected.

We consider the residence of the landlord among his tenantry as a moral obligation. This residence, in many cases, cannot be more than occasional. The possessor of estates in England and Ireland should divide his attention, and reside occasionally in the one, and in the other country. The man whose high rank and place in society fixes him near the throne and the parliament will also be no more than an occasional resident. But to an occasional residence we think he is bound.

That we owe certain duties of care, personal example, and superintendence, to those from whose labours we derive our subsistence, and rank, place, and importance, cannot be doubted. We are debtors for all that we receive, first to the Great Being, whose is the right of property in all things, and who has annexed certain indispensable obligations to all his gifts, — next, to the immediate agent whose hand he employs in his ministration of benefits. We can well suppose that an occasional residence in Ireland may be attended with some inconvenience. But it

is an inconvenience which ought to be cheerfully incurred by those who derive large revenues from that country; and it would be balanced by many important advantages, derivable from local knowledge, and personal intercourse and acquaintance with the people.

Nor can it be a grievous thing to reside for a while in this beautiful country, upon one's own soil, and in the midst of one's own people. Even the high cultivation, and all the lovely landscape of England, must give place to the richer, and grander, and more sublime scenery of the sister island. Whatever can interest the heart, and delight the fancy, and warm the imagination, is spread over the face of this fine island, with a profusion and variety hardly to be equalled. If the people are rude, even they too, in their wildness and rusticity, have much to engage our esteem, and to fix our admiration. Like the land they occupy, they discover, uncultivated as they are, that nature has been working here, upon a scale of superior grandeur and power. Those who spend their leisure in the wilds of Greece, amongst the out-laws of Italy, or in the deserts of Russia, with courage to hazard the encounters of banditti, and the perils of despotism, cannot complain of the discomforts of Ireland.

All obligations are mutual. The obligation to labour and to pay rent attaches upon the tenant. The obligation of kindness, superintendence and concern, belongs to the landlord. The connection between landlord and tenant has never yet been sunk into a mere heartless traffic. Even the trading spirit of this buying and selling age has not yet estimated its value in pounds shillings and pence. Nor have the appalling experiments of the political economist yet reduced it to nothing in his crucible. Try it as you please — with every acid that selfishness and research can furnish — decompose it by whatsoever process, and the analysis will prove, that with much of the dross and baser element which form the alloy, and enter, in some degree, into the substance of almost every relation of life — which are sometimes to be found, we know not even whether strengthening or debasing the finer attachments of love and friendship — even with this allowance of the matter of the world's idolatry, there will still be found in the intercourse of landlord and tenant much of what is pure and excellent — kindness, consideration, and devoted affection. A relationship somewhat of that kind which takes place between a father and his children, a kind master and his dependants, a wise prince and his subjects.

We know that the progress of civilization, and the genius of trade, and the spirit of a philosophic selfishness, have succeeded in loosening those bonds which were once so sacred in a ruder state of society. But though loosened, they have not been destroyed. They still bind together the great frame-work of the community. Nor is the heart of the nation yet so corrupt that they should perish in its rottenness.

What nobler ambition can be proposed to man than to win the hearts of his fellows? What higher employment of his powers than to do them good? And this is offered to the man, and, more than offered, for it is pressed upon him, who has a numerous tenantry. This is the high calling of him to whom Providence has measured out the earth with a bounteous hand, and given him to rule over his people; and, with more than princely authority, to appropriate their labours as his right.

There is no people that will afford a richer harvest than the Irish, or with less of labour or expense to the cultivator of the heart. We would call the landlords of Ireland to this neglected field; not that they may sow a vain and gaudy popularity in the passions of the multitude, but

that they might so cultivate as to reap a valuable crop in the affections of a grateful people. If they sow in benefits, they will surely reap in love. We do not advise any needless sacrifice of property; we doubt whether it would serve the people. We are sure that care, and kindness, and attention, are infinitely more useful and more prized than any thoughtless indulgence of another sort. A considerate superintendence of the concerns of the poor, and of their children, will suffice, if steadily persevered in, to win their best affections.

Let the despiser of the people rejoice in his solitary enjoyments. He can best appreciate the value of a people's love who has really possessed that treasure. There is no one so elevated or so independent as not sometimes to need it, and to feel how lonely and how desolate a thing it is to be without it. There are periods too, in the progress of human affairs, when a loneliness of this sort is full of danger. There have been times, when the veriest selfishness would have purchased the people's affection at any price, and it was not to be had for money.

No man can leave a richer inheritance to his children than the affections of the people. The

solitary sensualist, or the idolater of wealth, may smile at such an entail; he will not understand its value. Common-place popularity, indeed, is a thing below the ambition of any man of sense or dignity; but the hearts of those who are near and connected with us are worthy of all our seeking. And the man who can throw them lightly and thoughtlessly away for a small expense, and a little attention and kindness, betrays an abject meanness and poverty of mind, and a total ignorance of what is really worthy the efforts of a noble spirit.

If the hearts of the people be thus precious, they are also the natural patrimony of the landowner. Others may seek them in various ways, and by a thousand indirect approaches; but they lie upon his road, and beset his every path. The stranger may court them to his cover, and use every means of artful invitation; but they will shun his grasp, and shrink with coldness and suspicion from his allurements. While they turn to their landlord with a ready and natural movement; they invite his notice, they solicit his attention. They present him with those affections so sought, so valued, as a portion of his property, which it would be wrong to withhold; a debt, a duty, which they are most

willing to pay, and of which they court his acceptance.

How shall an absentee proprietor lay claim to this inheritance? Without occasional residence, at least, this cannot be done. Without personal observation the tenant cannot enter into the character of the landlord, or understand his motives or views. He can have at most but a loose and indistinct idea of his humanity and goodness. This, too, may be altogether the good sense or good feeling of the agent, in which the landlord has no share. Or, they may have a joint and divided concern in the indulgence with which the tenantry are treated. It may be difficult to ascertain their respective shares.

The agent seldom reflects correctly the character of the principal. He presents the visage of the landlord to his tenantry stern and frowning; or he subdues the harsh outline, and throws softness and sunshine over the rugged features. The former is, we believe, more generally the case. At all events, the agent is a medium through which the landlord can be but indistinctly discerned, and never can be so clearly seen as to be beloved. There can be no love without a full and clear perception of character. We must,

as it were, touch it, and bring it home to our bosoms, and make it to associate intimately with our feelings, and lay it up in the core of our hearts. Now, this cannot be done where the people cannot get at the character they desire so to enshrine; or where they are permitted to see it, with rapid and passing glances only, as it comes perhaps for an instant and disappears, like the vision of a disturbed slumber.

We might refer to Scotland upon this, as upon other occasions, to illustrate the duty of residence, and to point out in its practice its good effects.

Every motive which can induce men to forsake their country, and take their residence within the circle of regal splendour, and the fascinations of a great metropolis, operate as strongly on the gentlemen and great landholders of Scotland as on those of the sister island. Perhaps there may be considered to be even stronger inducements to lead away the gentry of Scotland from the duty of residing upon their inheritances. The heaths and wilds of that country, with all their poetic attractions, are by no means to be compared to the exquisite scenery of Ireland — almost unnoticed and almost unsung.

But the Scotch, if they leave their inheritances, leave them but for a season. They do not fail to return to their estates. They never abandon the duties which belong to their station. There are few Scotchmen of rank who have not mansions in that country befitting their place in society; few that live altogether aliens to the land from which they derive their wealth and splendour, and that have relinquished habitually and for ever that personal care, superintendence, and concern for their tenantry, which are the indispensable obligations of a landed inheritance. There are even Scotch landholders who possess considerable estates in England, and who conscientiously divide their time between the two countries.

We have not only to complain of a total dereliction of the duty of residence, for the most part, in the absentee proprietors of Irish estates; but we have often to lament a shocking and criminal inattention or carelessness, on the part of proprietors, in the appointment of agents, to any thing but what is supposed to be the pecuniary interest of the landlord. A hand to collect and transmit the rents is generally all that is looked for. Whether that hand is pure, is seldom enquired into.

The tenantry of Ireland are not only deprived of their natural right of living directly under the eye of the proprietor of the soil; but they are, for the most part, handed over to be plundered and oppressed by petty and rapacious despots, without interest in their welfare, or sympathy in their concerns. They are not only deprived of the moral influence, which a family of rank, humanity, and just principle, would not fail to have upon their tenantry and dependants; but they are given up to be corrupted and depraved by the constant exhibition in the agent and his under agents, of the utmost heartlessness, rapacity, and cruelty. Fraud, successful and triumphant fraud, is for ever before their eyes. The ruin of the friendless and neglected poor, and the hopeless struggles of industry and honesty, are the lessons they are given to learn. Hence the deep and dread depravity of the Irish peasantry — hence it is that they consider virtue as but a name; humanity as weakness of mind; the law as the tyranny of the rich over the poor; and deceit and violence as just means of defence.

An agent, ought as much as possible to represent the character and feelings of his principal. The nobleman of high rank ought not to be represented by the vulgar and prowling attorney,

or the ignorant and low dependant. Neither ought the humane and accomplished gentleman, the man of pure morals and perhaps of pious mind, to send the blasphemer and extortioner, the man whose days and nights are devoted to deep, disgusting, and impure debauch, among his Irish tenantry. If he will not afford them the advantage of his own presence, why will he seek to consummate their ruin, and to make sure of their execration by sending a pestilence of this kind amongst them? And yet, this is by no means a rare case. We could point out such agents, and exhibit them as the Irish representatives of absentees of high character, and even of some pretensions to religious feeling. But, we have no doubt, these men are good accountants, and punctual in collecting rents.

The connection between landlord and tenant of care, concern, and attention — of obedience, respect and love — is the true cement of society, the best support of the state. Through this medium, the benign principles of good government, and the justice of the laws, become known to the people. The populace understand nothing of the mechanism of the constitution, nor the principles of state policy. Yet, it is necessary to the well-being of the commonwealth, that even the lowest of the people should be con-

nected with the highest authorities of the state, by some strong and safe bond. A good and just proprietor is the best friend to the throne, and the constitution. He is, towards the people, the bulwark and the representative of both.

He who deserts his post amongst the people, or fills it by deputy, betrays alike the throne and the country. It were well if this were better understood at Court; and that absentee proprietors were occasionally reminded of their duties, and given to understand, that they would be received with more satisfaction if they could say they had arrived from a long residence upon their Irish estates, and were about to return soon.

There is another evil flowing from the absentee system, upon which we shall say a word. We have spoken of its effect upon the peasantry: we will now advert to its effect upon the subordinate classes of gentry. The character of this class is notoriously bad, in Ireland; and it is so, in a great measure, because they are neither led, nor controlled, by the example of the higher orders of nobility and gentry. The link ascending to the throne is broken; and this class rather take their vices from the mass below

them, than derive their virtues from the ranks above. It will be said, that they are not always virtues which are derived from this source. True, not always — nor every virtue. But, in the case before us, there are qualities which may deserve almost the rank of virtues, and which are chiefly to be found among the higher elevations of society. We mean freedom from narrow prejudices, enlarged habits of thinking, and some respect for the people. We think these are to be found more generally amongst enlightened persons of the higher ranks, than amongst those in subordinate situations. And naturally, because a more extensive and cultivated association, and greater acquaintance with what is passing in the world, and perhaps some occasional travelling, rub away the film and the prejudice which darken the mental vision of the inferior orders of gentry. Now, these classes would, in a natural order of things, receive at second hand all the advantage of the greater cultivation and improvement of the higher circles.

It would descend upon them in gentle and genial showers from the gilded clouds of a superior atmosphere; and they would become gradually refreshed, and renewed, and transformed, as they drank the honied dews of polite influence.

But this is not the process which takes place in Ireland. The middle classes of gentry are not nourished with the dews of the superior atmosphere: they are fed with the exhalations of the bog and the morass. They imitate the vices, and are fully imbued with the prejudices, of the lowest of the people. They may not be exactly the same vices, or the same prejudices; but, where they differ, they are worse.

The vices of mankind act and re-act upon each other, producing sometimes exact resemblances, sometimes perfect contrasts. Thus, we find the same faithlessness and ferocity pervading several classes of the people in Ireland which stand opposed to each other in deadly enmity as hostile partizans.

It must be admitted, that among the best managed estates in Ireland, are some of those belonging to absentees; and that there are agents inferior to no resident proprietor in humanity, integrity, and intelligence. The high character of the agent, and the excellent management of the estate, diminish greatly the evils of the absentee system; but do not remove them. The greater the humanity, the more sound and excellent the principle of the absent proprietor, the more is his absence to be regretted. Though

his agent may be a better man than many of the resident gentry, and more useful—though his tenants may be happier and in better circumstances, than those who live under resident landlords, and his estate may be managed upon more enlightened and liberal principles than those of the latter—though there are some resident landlords who are a pestilence in the country, and who could not do better for the land they live in than to leave it; —yet we do not apprehend that all this affects our reasoning in the slightest degree. The matter remains as it was.

There are, however, several absentee proprietors, upon whom it can hardly be considered that any duty of residence attaches. Those are they whose ancestors had almost parted with their estates, reserving little more than quit-rents. They can hardly be considered as the proprietors of the land, their tenants having equally durable and much more valuable interests in the soil. This class of absentees are to be put out of the case.

We have seen an attempt to show, by something like an argument drawn from the principles of political economy, that the rents remitted to absentees do not exhaust and impoverish the

country. The argument is shortly this:—Rent, it is said, cannot be remitted to England or elsewhere, unless the country to which it is sent has become debtor to Ireland to that extent, or in other words, Ireland must have exported commodities to that amount. Taking it to be true, that they are the exports of Ireland, which enable that country to send her rents to absentees; would it not be still better if these rents remained at home? Ireland does not export a shilling's worth the more because of the absentees: And if she did, it would be still a bad bargain in politics to send abroad her gentry, that they might serve as a bounty upon exportation.

Ireland is enabled by her foreign trade to send abroad the rental of her lands to non-resident proprietors. It is this that has made her poor, and "kept her so." No capital can accumulate in a country subject to such an incessant drainage. The lancets of a thousand absentees are in her veins. Though she be fed by the trade of England and America, and all the world, it can do no more than supply the current, and prevent death. She must remain for ever in a state of fainting, or frenzy.

THE UNION.

THE Union with Ireland was long a favourite measure with British statesmen. It was frequently contemplated and projected, from the time that Irish affairs began to attract much of the attention and solicitude of the British cabinet. But the weakness of the English government in Ireland, and the threatening temper with which every intimation of this kind was received in that country, and the press of other and perhaps what were considered more important affairs, from time to time, prevented all attempts to push the execution of this design.

In this state, perhaps, things would have continued, as well from the embarrassments which had ever beset Irish affairs, as from the reluctance to touch them at all, which had grown into a habit with the British government. But the American contest having drawn the forces of England across the Atlantic, gave

an effect to the eloquence of Mr. Grattan, inside the walls of the Irish House of Commons; and the glittering arms of fifty thousand volunteers, having given to his arguments a force and splendour that was irresistible, the repeal of Poynings' law, and the independence of Parliament followed.

Poynings' law, according to the practice of the Irish legislature, previous to the Constitution of 1782, permitted the Houses of Parliament to originate what were called "Heads of Bills:" these were then transmitted to England, and laid before the King in Council; if approved of, they were returned; submitted to Parliament a second time, and passed, — if not, they were modified or suppressed. This famous law was for a long time considered the palladium of the country. It protected the people from the violence of the great lords of Parliament, and the rapacity of general governors. It interposed the caution and humanity of the English council as a defence against hasty and oppressive enactments. Afterwards, when something like an Irish public had grown up, exercising its natural control over public men, the value of Poynings' law as a check was diminished; and its inconvenience as a restraint upon legislation was more apparent, and more felt.

But this restraint has been used from time out of mind, in both islands, by some means or other. Poynings' law was a direct avowal of the fact, and when this was repealed, its place was supplied by the usual parliamentary influence, or by corruption. We should certainly have preferred this law, and a real representation of the people, to Mr. Grattan's constitution, with its freedom, its imperfection, and its corruption. We are inclined to think, it would have been happier for Ireland, if that great man had left untouched Sir Edward Poynings' act, and had limited his exertions to rendering perfect and pure the representation of the people, in the Commons House of Parliament. It would have required no struggle to make the Courts of law independent, and a free trade would have followed in the progress of correct principles.

We are far from undervaluing the great advantages procured by Mr. Grattan for his country; neither were they procured improperly, or out of season: but we think, that his constitution, even in its birth, contained the seeds of the Union. Hardly is any government in practice, what it professes to be in theory; and this, because human nature is in the aggregate what it is in the individual, weak and wonderfully imperfect. It would be well, how-

ever, if the vices of large assemblies of men, were no more than the sum of the vices of the individuals composing them. But this is far from being the case. The profligacy of the whole mass is always found greatly to exceed this proportion. There is a contagion of corruption in a crowd; a re-action of the aggregate upon the individual, which takes away all shame, extinguishes all principle, and gives a general result of enormous depravity.

The executive branch of the government has always found it more convenient to act by prevention, than in opposition, and has seldom failed in finding the means of doing so. The Veto, indeed, which is placed with so much pomp in the great armoury of the Crown, would in practice be a weapon of straw for its own, or for the public defence, if it were to come in collision with the overwhelming power of the other branches of the legislature. It is to the real weakness of this arm, and to the obvious inconvenience of using it, that we are to attribute the anxiety with which the executive has ever sought to obtain an influence in the legislature. But in Ireland there were additional motives, arising out of the situation and circumstances of the country. The Crown had, here, to stretch its arm across the ocean; and being the only bond of connexion

between the two islands, it felt the necessity of keeping a strong and firm hold of this precious portion of its dominions.

Poynings' law gave this hold in an open manner; but when that law was repealed, without being accompanied by any improvement in the representation of the people, the Crown lifted its arm from the old statute on which it had rested, only to grasp the Parliament itself. And though the House had been very impatient of the hand of power, when it lay visibly upon the statute book, yet, when it was gently transferred to their own necks, and was felt in many a friendly and affectionate pressure, the members shewed no symptoms of ill-humour.

If the question was between the constitution, as under Poynings' law, and the Union, as we believe it was, there can be no doubt that, for Ireland, the former constitution was infinitely preferable. Under that, there was a resident nobility and gentry; and there was a resident legislature, which, shackled as it might be, was free for innumerable purposes of local and immediate concern and superintendence; which had its whole time and undivided attention to bestow upon those infinite matters of detail and arrangement, which are invaluable to a nation,

but are too various to be brought with effect before the minds of the crowded representatives of England and Scotland. Space, too, which operates in every thing, has the effect here, of sinking the value, and of scattering the multitude of small matters, which, in their aggregate, influence so much the prosperity of nations.

Let it be considered, also, that the legislative business of Ireland occupied, in her own Parliament, nearly as much time as is now devoted to the business of three nations. We may group together Parliaments as we please, and stow them into any building large enough to contain them; but we cannot add one hour to the day, nor stretch the faculties of man by any contrivance, so as to encompass any given mass of business. The affairs of this great globe go on in a tolerable manner, only because they are parcelled out in small and manageable allotments.

But England, in her own house of Parliament, at home in her own land, with her hands full of her important business, and her attention called, at every moment, to all the ends of the earth, feels herself, as she is, the greater nation, and her affairs as of far greater weight and dignity. With the best disposition in the world, she cannot be-

stow the time they require upon the inferior concerns of her neighbour. The time given to the affairs of Ireland, in the Imperial Parliament, is not one-twentieth of what she thought necessary for their management, when she sat in her own domain. The attention and investigation given to them are in a still smaller proportion, and perhaps the talent applied to the task has diminished in more than an equal degree. When the work sinks in importance, and, borne down by a weight of greater interests, finds its level nearer to the earth, it will cease to attract the fire of superior intellect, which flashes only in the higher regions of speculation. Neither, if there were time and talent, could there be that fulness of information, which is to be collected only from a large number of representatives, sent forth from every corner of the land.

For all these purposes, then, of full communion, of ability, leisure, and detail; and also for that mysterious purpose of local influence, which seems to be derived in some unaccountable way from the soil we tread on, a kind of sympathy between the animate and inanimate earth, and which is, perhaps, as valuable, and as powerful in its operation upon human affairs, as any that we are acquainted with; for all these purposes, the constitution, before eighty-two, was, in comparison, full of power and efficiency.

Notwithstanding, it is not to be questioned, that the Parliament of Ireland appeared, in 1782, with great splendour, wearing the new honours it had won. The very exertion by which it had shaken itself free, had given it a spirit and an energy that promised well for the country. Nor was the country disappointed. Under the fostering care of her new legislature, her trade increased, her manufactures flourished, her agriculture climbed the mountain, and spread itself over the bog. New roads and canals, like the veins and arteries of the human subject, circulated the young blood of a rejoicing country, from the heart to the extremities; and the capital lifted its head over all, with a dignity and a grandeur not unworthy of the days of Greece and Italy. The spirit of a new genius descended upon the nation: its throne was the emancipated Parliament, and from its seat of quick respiration, it went forth upon the whole land in bright flashes of intellect, illuminating every object, and kindling every kindred spirit.

The nation started suddenly into wealth, and power, and intelligence. All was not perhaps to be attributed to the new constitution; but also, in some measure, to the general circumstances of the times, and the state of the world, which, from a great variety of causes, had re-

ceived a new impulse tending to a rapid improvement; — an impulse which Ireland was prepared to receive and feel, with a trembling and acute sensation, in every limb and throughout every nerve.

The new constitution, combining its forces in the direction of the new impulse, rolled on the nation in a steady and rapid course of prosperity, until it arrived at a point, where they acted together no longer. The force of the constitution was spent. It ceased to act upon the nation, at a time when the impulse from without, and the impetus previously received, had given the people an irresistible tendency to progression.

The public were amazed. But they were not long in comprehending the cause of the unsteady vibration which now took place. They saw that it arose from the want of sympathy between the people and the legislature. The Commons had not sufficient weight in their own house. We do not quarrel with the executive, for going into this chamber of Parliament, and making itself an interest there; where the efficient power of the state resides; where there is a weight of authority, against which the other counterpoises of the constitution are as nothing. But it is the nature of

power to be indiscreet and incautious, and to provide too anxiously for its own safety, and too liberally for its own enjoyment. If the spirit of power be seen sitting, like an incubus, upon the people's House of Parliament; if the action of the popular pulse, and the beat of the public heart, be no longer felt;—if the only signs of animation be discernible in some feeble and despairing struggle, proving only how hopeless is the case, and how entirely subdued is the victim,—then is the time to "flee to the mountains," for the end is at hand.

The want of sympathy between the people and the Parliament, led, first to all manner of projects of reform; and these being unavailing, led, in the next place, to rebellion. But no rebellion in Ireland could succeed which did not rest upon some kindred principle in Britain. Though the tide of insurrection could not shake the footstool of the throne, yet it set in with a rapidity which compelled many, who never dreamed of such an alternative, to quit the quiet ground of neutrality, in which their disapprobation of both parties had placed them, and to take reluctantly a part in the affray. Some of these filled the ranks of rebellion, because they were perhaps more strongly inclined to the popular side, or were doubtful of their acceptance with those, whose measures could not be treated as unconstitutional or unwise, with

less than the penalty of treason. Some joined the government,—others fled the country.

The rebellion, though violent and bloody, was feeble and partial. Various causes concurred, which the wisdom of government had not prepared, to damp the flames, at this time struggling to reach the inflammable materials which were scattered widely over the country. Such as it was, however, it was enough for terror and alarm. Mr. Pitt seized the moment, suddenly to present the Union before the minds of the people, in contrast with separation, as though there were no alternative.

The English and the Irish ministers now turned round upon their own system of government, and upon that of their predecessors. They took away the arm of power that had supported it, and the veil of specious phraseology and smooth pretence which had covered it. They exhibited it in its nakedness; pointed, as it were, in scornful sorrow to its defects; shewed its inveterate and incurable distempers, its miraculous potency for all evil purposes, and its utter inefficiency towards any good end. They talked of it, as of a devil that had done their work well, that had been a faithful and most malignant drudge; whose evil spells had boiled over, and whose zeal

in wickedness had surpassed even the utmost exactions of his masters, —but whose time was now come; and they begged that the omnipotent Parliament would cast him out from the country, and bind him "for a thousand years."

They told, indeed, that a victory over the demon was to be purchased at no ordinary price, that the death of the victor was the condition which the fates had annexed to this important triumph, and they adjured the Parliament to go forth to this awful conflict; to put away the little selfish considerations which nestle round the hearts of modern patriots, and, clothing themselves with the enthusiasm of Roman virtue, to devote themselves for their country.

But the days of Roman devotedness were no more; and even the spirit of chivalry, whose lance and dazzling shield had for a long and glorious age checked the devouring selfishness of human nature, and held its bright and lofty guardianship over the counsels of men, sat no more in Parliament. The proposition was received coldly by the House. Some there were, indeed, whose generous nature was equal to the dread penalty. But they were few. A greater number thought that the evil spirit of the system might be subdued at less cost. They thought,

that if the minister who called them to this combat, were to put himself in front of the battle, their victory would be sure, without the peril of existence. A third, and still larger party, could not discern any necessity for the warfare they were bid to wage with the ancient servant of the House. If the country had not reaped the benefit of his services, they were sorry for it: they certainly had, themselves, profited by them, and they did not choose to be ungrateful; but if it must be done, they would even dismiss him for a season.

In the emergency which had occurred, they were ready to do any thing reasonable; but this species of self-devotement!—'twas preposterous! Rather than this, they would make common cause with any party in the state. They would mingle the green emblem of the island with the orange badge of the Dutch prince. They would even cease to be foreigners, lest they should cease to be tyrants. The Irish opposition opened their ranks, and received their new allies with cheers. The public loudly responded to the voice of the House speaking in a new and long forgotten strain; and once again, there was established a happy sympathy between the Parliament and the people. The minister was defeated.

There was really no danger of separation. Every instance that was relied upon, — the misgovernment of the country, — the decision of parliament upon the regency question, — the rebellion, — went forcibly to prove the strength of those bonds by which the two countries were connected. If they remained unbroken, — if they were not shattered by the mighty concussions they had sustained, surely, that they had been exposed to such rude proof, to such unsparing trials, ought rather to have confirmed the confidence of government, and of the people of both countries, in the power of their political cohesion. If all that had occurred was unequal to separate the two countries, it was established that their connexion was indissoluble. It was clear that there was something in this connexion of so powerful and binding a nature, that there was no government so bad, hardly any abuse so abominable, or accident so fearful, as to be able to sever or dissolve it.

On the regency question the Parliament of Ireland differed from that of Great Britain. But it was a difference, proving its attachment to the throne, and the royal family, and indicating any thing rather than danger to the connexion. It was the habit of the Irish House to follow too closely the steps of the British Parliament. And

even upon this point, which was then dear to Irish feeling, Parliament would have yielded, on the instant that danger threatened, even from afar, that connexion which was so cherished.

When the Union was proposed, the country was exhausted by civil war, and still more frightened by the perils it had seen. The people were divided; they stood in groups, gloomy, and apart from each other. There was calm in the country, and peace, but few would yet believe it. The combatants had laid down their arms, but they had not quitted their ranks. They were still distrustful. There still lingered a bitterness in their hearts, and a scowl of defiance upon their foreheads: and the earth must close over many of these clusters of men, before the memory of the deeds that have been done shall be blotted out for ever.

In the contests of men for power, in the great debate of arms, where the high interests of country, and the fine feelings of patriotism, mingle with the fierce and savage rushing of the passions in the very shock of battle, generous and exalted sentiment has often thrown its veil over the sad scene, and given a grandeur and dignity to the woes and the crimes of humanity. In ordinary warfare, there are established rules

and modes of acting, which set limits to the ferocity of that fiercest and cruelest of animals, man. But in the contest which had just been terminated, there had been no redeeming principle. No angel had walked through the civil conflagration into which the common feelings of humanity had been flung. None of the ordinary rules or principles, which in those extremities afford protection to the miserable, were here admitted; all was a wide waste, in which the spirit of evil found nothing to check his extravagances or to stay his progress. Crimes and cruelties unnumbered and unheard of had burned and blackened the land. People's hearts became hard and unfeeling; they were surprised at the enormities which they witnessed without emotion, and practised without remorse.

And now, when the desolation stood still and peace was announced, people listened and doubted, and thought it was some new treachery. And when the Union was proposed, they thought they discerned the object of the peace, and perhaps of the war which they had been permitted to wage upon each other; and, in these dark imaginings, they smiled bitterly and scornfully at the distress of the party who had dipt their hands in blood, and hardened their hearts against

their country and countrymen, rather than forego their profits or surrender their unjust monopolies.

The enemies of the popular cause had worked their own fall. Government had caught the oligarchy of Ireland in the very act of perpetrating such deeds as had rendered them odious to the country. In their extremity these called upon the people; but the people did not answer. Could they rely upon men whose objects were so narrow and selfish? What security was there, that, if the present danger were removed, the people would not again be abandoned and the country betrayed? They listened not to these overtures; and they were as little caught with the propositions which ministers addressed to them. They were told that the union would work the ruin of their enemies, that it was the only means by which the oligarchy could be overthrown. They were reminded of the abundant proof they possessed, that they could hope for nothing from this selfish and overbearing faction, while they might expect every thing from the justice and generosity of Great Britain. It was stated to the Catholics, that perhaps they were too numerous and powerful to be admitted, as the constitution stood, to a full participation of power in Ireland: but, when the Union should

mingle them in the common mass of the population of the empire, this objection would be removed. In ceasing to be a majority, they would cease to be objects of jealousy or apprehension; and justice should be done them.

These representations produced little effect. The popular mind was impressed with deep melancholy; it was cold and deaf to the advances of that party in the state which was now most in jeopardy, for it knew them to be unworthy of confidence; nor was it deceived by the plausible statements of the minister, for the people were not willing to sell their country for a bribe; and they turned in sorrow, even from the intoxicating cup of revenge, when presented by a hand they suspected. It was a time, too, for reflection; when returning calmness could survey with a quiet and moistened eye the ruin that had been accomplished. There was no more enthusiasm in the crowd, nor hope in the heart of the country; and the feeble effort that was made rather against the Union than on behalf of the Parliament, only showed how broken was the spirit of the people.

Parliament, thus deserted by the country, was left to make a solitary struggle for its own existence. It was an awful spectacle, and full of in-

struction. The dying agony of the Irish legislature, abandoned in its hour of need by the people it had itself first deserted and abused, is a lesson that cannot be too much considered and relied upon. The attack of the minister upon his own creature. The remorse, and even the noble efforts of that Parliament, with all its sin upon its head. Its returning strength, shaking off the grasp of the destroyer: its final struggle, and dissolution. Statesmen should draw near to the bier of this Parliament, and learn wisdom from its fate. It was led by the tempter, and by its own evil genius, to separate itself from the people. The pride of aristocracy, and the narrow spirit of party, and the selfishness of corruption, had prepared it for this catastrophe. Men believed that the people had no rights, that they were made merely to be the objects of a gainful traffic; that public affairs were mere matters of profit and speculation; and that those who thought otherwise were dreamers, who knew not the world; or knaves, who had sinister designs to accomplish.

The last scene of the life of this Parliament, as it is recorded, is at this day, and must be to the end of time, an historical document, more precious than the leaves of the sibyls. There is no doubt that the sense of the people was opposed

to the Union. And when that measure was first proposed in Parliament, even the most devoted servants of the minister forsook him, and he was driven out of the House. No rubbing of the old rag of corruption could induce these, the ordinary slaves of the lamp, to transport the House beyond the Irish channel. But the minister was a magician who possessed more than one talisman. He had a ring and a ribbon, which enabled him to obtain a new set of slaves, more obedient than the former. The process was now rapid. The obstinate members were whirled out of their places, and, under the working of this powerful incantation, the house fell to pieces, and a large fragment of it was transported beyond sea.

The remaining members went home with their boroughs in their pockets. Such an instance of political profligacy and ministerial power, we trust, will never again be witnessed. But when we consider the grandeur and dignity of the British Parliament, and still more, when we view the British nation as the strength of Europe, and the light of the world; when we consider how much all the nations owe to her example and instruction, and how necessary she yet is to the improvement and happiness of mankind; we must forget all the injuries of which she might have

been the conscious or unconscious instrument to Ireland, to tell her of our concern, to press upon her the fruit of our experience, and to warn her to beware, lest at any time there should be found sitting in her House of Parliament, a sorcerer having the lamp, and the ring, and the ribbon, and the slaves that obey them.

THE REBELLION.

THE rebellion of 1798 was partial, short, and sanguinary. It was a mere angry and impatient ebullition of popular feeling, which might have been satisfied without blood. The popular spirit of the day was like a fierce animal, startled, and spurning his accustomed path, which yet a little management, and a gentle hand, might have brought back to the course. But the king's ministers disdained to use any application but the whip. And it was said, that when they saw him fretting and foaming, as perhaps they expected, they let slip their hold of him altogether, and saw him, without great dissatisfaction, dash his foolish head against the wall, and sink exhausted in his own blood; for, before he rose again, they expected to have time to throw an additional halter or two about his neck, and afterwards to lead him, for a long time at least, with more ease than formerly.

All this might have been very politic and statesman-like, but we cannot help thinking, that if there was any such management, it was a very barbarous manœuvre. We think it is the same in public as in private life; the rule applies in both,—that no advantage which can be proposed is worth a crime: that, on the contrary, the use of criminal means is as sure evidence of poverty and meanness of resource, as it is of profligacy of principle.

Every thing which is really wise or expedient is ever to be found within the reach of pure appliances; and it may be laid down as an axiom,—that whatsoever can be reached by crime only, or by questionable means, however fair or tempting it may appear, yet conceals some sting, or hides some rottenness, which will not fail to prove, in its season, the short-sightedness of cunning. The policy of little minds is always narrow. They discern confusion in complexity; and the infinite varieties and diverse forms of things present to their confined and diseased vision nothing but a mangled mass of disorder, without relation or harmony. To minds of this class, it appears to be the profoundest wisdom, and the grandest exemplification of genius, to simplify the machine of government, and to re-

duce as much as possible the number of springs, and wheels, and checks. And when this passion for simplification has attained its extreme, it issues in the exquisite simplicity of despotism. No form of government is so simple as despotism.

Human affairs, however, are a mass of infinite combinations, which admit, without injury, of but a small degree of our aid or intervention, and resist our control. We do not yet understand the whole matter; possibly we never shall. But our researches in the field of morals and of politics supply us with results, which are sustained by every analogy of science and all the labours of the learned. No where do we discover the simplicity that is sought for. The flowers of the field mock our hard words, and the great trees of the forest deride our classifications. The same fate awaits our labours in the animal creation; and if we come back to the moral domain of the creator, we are met by a variety, surpassing all that has bewildered our former enquiries.

Knowledge is humility. The passion for simplicity grew out of arrogance and impatience. In science it would have stopped the progress of research; in religion it produced persecution; in government it would set up despotism; and

the destruction of human happiness would have been the end of its speculations.

The natural progress of events placed the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, upon one head; but the amalgamation of the three legislatures was the contrivance of meddling politicians, and we doubt very much the wisdom of these experiments in simplification. There was too much palpable management in these transactions. The machinery by which they were effected was too coarse, and too much used on ordinary occasions; it had been too much exposed to public view, and soiled, and made filthy by too much handling. Changes of such great import ought not to be attempted in our days by such vulgar means. The light which is spread abroad upon all subjects, and events, must lie upon them for ever, exhibiting their foulness and deformity to all generations. The transactions of our times can never be softened down by those shadings, which lie so thickly upon the pictures of antiquity. The dimness of age will be slow in creeping over those unsightly things, upon which the busy spirit of our generation throws such a strong and malicious illumination. The world knows, and must for ever know, by what means these Unions were accomplished.

That of Scotland has the stain of corruption upon it, and no more; but the Irish Union is too nearly connected with a tale of blood.

The rebellion, with all its dread transactions, with all the wickedness, and all the foolishness, and all the zeal and heroism which it called forth, is now matter of history. The crimes, and the cruelties, perpetrated on both sides, were never exceeded, and could only be equalled by the fidelity and devotedness of the contending parties. Human nature, in these her days of suffering, in the extremity of her agony, is soothed and consoled by the high and glorious spirit which is lighted up in the breasts of some of her chosen children by the awful visitation of the moral tempest.

We place opposite each other, as nearly equally horrible, the inhuman butcheries committed by the furious and barbarous rabble upon Wexford Bridge, and the cruel and refined atrocities of the better educated savages at the Riding House, Dublin, and elsewhere; the dreadful immolation at Scullabogue, whether by accident or design, and the torture of the triangle, the pitch-cap, the scourging, and the strangling. In this dreadful picture, we discern

no shade of colouring; one uniform line of livid and deadly darkness pervades the whole. We might extenuate the excesses of an ignorant and oppressed peasantry broken loose from authority, and suddenly in arms—savage almost as the Cherokee, and, like him, almost equally careless of what he inflicted, or what he endured; we might dwell with indignation upon the enormities of educated men, and some of them high in rank: but we turn away from this unhappy part of our subject—from crimes that shock humanity, and make the heart sink in sorrow and astonishment; we turn to virtues, which make us proud of our country, even in the moment of its humiliation.

The genius of the French revolution, which, at that period, had made such progress over the face of the earth, led away captive the master spirits of the rebellion; exhibiting to some the dazzling baubles of ambition, and captivating other and better minds by specious projects of general improvement. The astonishing success of the French arms had impressed all minds with a persuasion, that the principle of the great revolution was irresistible, and was destined to pervade the enlightened states of Europe. All believed in the certainty of an approaching

change: those who feared, as well as those who wished it; and this persuasion filled the ranks of the leaders with a time-serving crowd, making an imposing shew, but little to be relied on. These, accordingly, deserted on the first symptoms, which indicated a doubtful result. But they left behind them a body of men, whom no change of circumstances ever shook, or danger appalled; and upon whom the march of disastrous events, and evil omens, had no other effect than to inspire them with a feverish impatience for the field.

The Irish peasantry received slowly, and imperfectly, the ideas which were attempted, with so much pains, to be impressed upon them. They understood nothing of theories of government. The word liberty, which was in every one's mouth, imported nothing with them but freedom from the old annoyance and oppression of tithes and taxes. It was no more than the old system of White-Boyism, in which they were surprised to find themselves joined by numbers of the higher ranks of society, and multitudes of the middle classes. They had been used to confederations of their own class, and, as in all cases of accession of allies, they soon began to extend their views beyond the old grievances of tithes, and heavy assessments, to the new grievance of rent.

Those who had land expected to hold it, discharged of this as well as other incumbrances; those who had none, hoped to procure some, on the like terms. On one occasion, within our knowledge, where the people gathered together to battle, and came crowding from the mountains; when asked what they proposed to themselves, they answered the enquirer with great simplicity, that they were going to a division of the land, which was to take place immediately. When the obstacle which the military opposed was pointed out, they laughed, and thought the thing was not the worse for having to fight for it; and took their way to the fatal field, with a gaiety of heart that was admirable and melancholy.

But, in the midst of these imaginations, they never put off, in idea, their allegiance to the throne; and their leaders found it necessary to amuse them with a shew of respect for the kingly authority. This, too, was according to the usual process of White-Boyism; which, in all its violence, never was used to contemplate more than a redress of real, and almost intolerable oppressions. Upon this occasion, stretching itself far, as it did, beyond its accustomed range, surrounded with temptations, and irritated with the difficulties and hazards of its enterprise, yet it failed not to respect the throne of the monarch.

His late Majesty had made an interest in the bosoms of his Irish people, which was now of value. It could not stand against the sweeping speculations of the higher ranks of rebellion; and it hardly sustained itself in the clear sightedness of the middle classes of the people, who saw, and felt, and deplored the abuses of the government. Amongst these Parliamentary Reform was, for a long time, the great object. Their views went no further; until, despairing of the measure upon which they had set their hearts, as the only remedy for the diseases of the country, they rushed into rebellion. The middle ranks entered extensively into the association of "United Irishmen."

The first object of this association had been no more than Parliamentary Reform; this would, at any time, have satisfied the middle classes of the people, and have gone far to dissolve the union. The bond of this celebrated union, was a "pure and holy" love of country. It embraced a very large proportion of the best principle in the land. A principle which did not wholly lose its dignity in its unhappy aberrations, nor in the woeful calamities which followed its course. But the peasantry were the great arm of the union. They looked to the throne, rather than to the Parliament, for redress. They under-

stood something, and not inaccurately, of the character of the sovereign. Viewing him as considerate, good, and regardful of his people, their confidence could not be shaken. They knew not what cold and dense bodies intercept the rays of royal benevolence in their passage downwards.

In the ranks of the United Irish, were to be found those who looked to separation; those who looked no farther than reform; and those whose views did not go beyond a mere present redress of partial grievances. But the whole mass stood opposed to government; and the arm of the state smote them with an undistinguishing and tremendous violence, and, like that of the angel which mowed the enemies of Israel, it was as yet in darkness. The people fell in multitudes by civil process. They found themselves every where dragged to judgment by persons who had sought their confidence only to betray them; and who, when the work of blood was done, retired to enjoy the dreadful profits, and give place to a new generation of destroyers. These were scorpions, "out of whose mouths came fire and brimstone, and whose tongues were as a two-edged sword." The guilty and the innocent fell before them; for it was necessary that they should kill. They were sent, indeed, as an infliction

upon the guilty only, but their appetite for blood was too keen to be restrained to these, and the innocent were frequently their victims. Whether the circumstances of the case were such as to justify the employment of informers, we know not; but it must be admitted, that it is utterly impossible to use these vermin so cautiously, as not to be led into the most lamentable errors.

To the torment of spies and informers succeeded the more open violence of free-quarters; and, in this awful visitation, it was not even pretended to distinguish between the offender and the guiltless. The inhabitants of the devoted district were given up without account, and surrendered calmly to promiscuous ruin. It will be said that there was a necessity for this also. If so, we will only say, woe unto the men who created such a necessity! But we will not admit that any possible case can exist, to make these horrible expedients necessary. If there be no established principle, no distinct line of defence, behind which humanity can retreat and find shelter in her extremity; if all is to be left at large; and law, and religion, and the obligations of human kind, are to be swept away before a mere opinion, a supposed, assumed, imaginary necessity; then were it better to dwell in caves, and with the beasts that perish. The net-work

of society should not be used as a snare, to be torn away upon occasion, that men might be delivered up in large masses to the fangs of a ferocious proscription.

Free-quarters were more destructive than the plague of the locusts; and the cutting off of the first-born of Egypt was a less dreadful calamity. The substance of the poor was eaten up; not the grass only, and the leaves of the trees, but the store of the housewife, and the cattle, the sheep, and the cow, and the poultry; and the little gardens were spoiled, and the trees were cut down at the roots, and the household vessels of the peasantry were broken and dashed to pieces, and frequently the ruin was completed by the conflagration of the cottage; for God visits not his people, even in his wrath, with such destruction as man inflicts upon his fellow mortal; and if the first-born of the people escaped the sword, the wickedness of a licentious soldiery brought pollution unto their humble families, and inflicted a more enormous injury. The peasantry of Ireland can spill the blood of others, or their own, almost with calmness. The tear that is shed for him who perishes by the sword is soon dried; death can be answered by death; but this species of injury admits of no retribution.

These things have all been, not in all cases of free-quarters, but in most of them. As far as it was possible, the officers of the army interfered to save the people whom they were sent to scourge. There is not in the world an army so officered; and upon this trying occasion their high character sustained itself. The officers of the British army are as far superior to those of the continent, as the British nation is above the other nations of Europe. With these, the point of honour seldom has reference to more than matters of mere military form, or affairs purely technical, while it leaves the whole moral conduct of the individual loose and unguarded, to be affected as it may by the bad passions and worse principles of a set of men taken often from low places in society, and generally set in command, without any other preparation than the foppery and presumption of ignorance in arms.

In the British army the point of honour is connected with the whole moral conduct, and he who is detestable as a man, cannot be respectable as a soldier. The value of intellectual culture, and of moral, and even religious sentiment, in the officers of our army, has been proved in many cases of moment beside this we now advert to. Nor is it confined to the officers — to the extension of moral and religious feeling, in a degree,

amongst the soldiery, we are persuaded that our army owes many of its triumphs. There is no aggregation of men that need so much the binding and consolidating influence of this feeling as an army. With this much more than Theban principle of unity and strength, it is invincible. Even the pious superstition of the Romans gave them empire, and the more exalted enthusiasm of the puritans brought victory to the standard of England's commonwealth.

Licentiousness is the besetting sin of an army, and its most deadly distemper; and whatsoever counteracts this most effectually, ensures its health and safety. The armies of the French Emperor had the spots of death upon them, even when as yet crowned with triumph and rejoicing, in an unbroken series of victories. And when, in derision of human power and boasting, God sent the frost and snow to scatter them, in that hour of calamity, the disease appeared in all its virulence; and this terrible cloud which had for so long a time carried the thunderbolt of the Most High, broken now itself, disappeared like a putrid exhalation.

What it is but justice to say for the officers, and sometimes even the soldiers of the British army then in Ireland, we can by no means affirm of the

Irish militia. The officers were, perhaps, unavoidably, infected with the spirit of party, and tainted with the prevailing malady of the time. The soldiers participated in the common feeling, ignorant, savage, superstitious, and licentious, they were the most dreadful, and the most dreaded scourge of their own country; taken from the lowest ranks of a people, whom all the events of their history, and all the measures of government, had tended to brutalize, they added to the fawning and ferocious character, which had been stamped upon them by oppression, much of that appalling licentiousness which spreads and stagnates in the uncultivated wastes of human nature. Reeling, and drunk with wickedness, and stained with blood, the Irish militia were sent to bring back to the state, by what persuasion they may think proper to use, its erring subjects. Hardly could the best disciplined army resist the dreadful temptation of free-quarters; what then must have been their effect upon such a soldiery? and what must have been the woes of a people consigned to such a fate? We will not stain our paper with any detail of the deeds that were done, and the things that were suffered.

When, at length, the spirit of evil was supposed to have done its work, and it was thought neces-

sary to stay his career, while yet there remained in the country any thing to make it valuable, the command of the military was given to General Sir Ralph Abercrombie. The principle of rebellion was spreading in the midst of defeat and disaster, not a few of the yeomanry corps were infected, and a large portion of the militia were sworn "United Irishmen." If this train had exploded, it would have spread a wider ruin, but there would yet have been no danger of the connection.

The very licentiousness of the soldiery had spread and extended the principle of rebellion. The cruelties of all kinds which had been practised upon the people, had filled the ranks of the desperate and disaffected. But though ministers were willing that some order should be introduced into the military department; they were not yet prepared to permit the soldiery to be placed under the control of strict discipline. It was perhaps intended to throw the high and stainless character of the commander-in-chief over the excesses of his army; and that, while his military skill protected the throne and the constitution, his name and honour should be employed to shield the minister and his retainers in their enormities.

But Sir Ralph Abercrombie was not a man to lend himself to such a scheme, or to be imposed

upon by such a device; his was not a spirit which could be bent to serve the crooked policy of vulgar statesmen; and he proceeded without delay to call back the army to its duties and to humanity. Sir Ralph states, in his general orders, February 26, 1798, that he found the army in "a state of licentiousness, formidable to all but the enemy." This was the truth of the army; it was almost the truth of the yeomanry.

But for the minister it was an unpalatable and untimely declaration. The straight-forward and uncompromising course of the commander-in-chief was embarrassing; and it was soon ascertained that this distinguished soldier was too pure in principle, and too firm in purpose, was too good and too noble-minded, for the task which had been committed to him. He was recalled from his command. Not to have been fit for the service of the Irish government of that day, was the highest eulogy. Sir Ralph Abercrombie reaped unfading laurels in other fields, but in Ireland he reaped honours of a higher and rarer kind, those which belong more to the character than the skill of the individual. He was not merely the great commander, but the good man; and, without looking for them, he reaped the hearts of the people, and the applause of all mankind.

The connection never had been in any danger. There was in Ireland too powerful a party determined to maintain it; and Great Britain commanded much too fine and too numerous an army. Her command of the ocean gave her the means of applying that army as she might think proper, and of cutting off all aid from France. To these, it was stated, that she meant to make the more questionable, but very formidable addition of a large Russian force, if necessary; and it was asserted, that shipping were actually prepared for them in the Baltic. But would the people of England have suffered that even an Irish rebellion should be put down by such means? We fear they would. There were already in Ireland a large number of foreign troops, Hessian, Hanoverian, and Brunswick. Some of these were much more effective in the work of indiscriminate plunder than in the field of battle; the property of friends and foes were equally acceptable to them; but they left the brunt of battle to the British troops. Upon the same principle that these mercenaries were introduced, might our Russian allies. The criminal neglect, and the monstrous injustice with which the British nation has, for so long a period, acted towards their kindred people and fellow subjects of Ireland, would have laid the foundations of great mischiefs to themselves, were there ready and skilful artificers to build upon them.

There has been a mass of bad precedents accumulating in Ireland sufficient to sink the stoutest ship that ever bore the liberties of a nation. The Union itself, and every thing connected with it, is, in this view, an evil so enormous as, without touching the immense stores of ages of tyrannous and unprincipled government, must make the men of England who take care for the safety of the state and the liberties of the people cautious of their ways. It is not the Union, as a mere measure of policy, which we impeach. In this view it has some advantages as well as inconveniences, and should now be considered as settled and established. We apply our observations to the means only by which it was effected: these are deserving of the uttermost reprobation; and, as precedents, they are full of peril to the commonwealth. Such as they are, however, — such as has been the long train of arbitrary and unconstitutional dealings with Ireland; these are now part of the history and of the political exemplars of the United Kingdom.

If the day of England's glory should be darkened, and the sun go down suddenly upon her bright career, the mischief will perhaps come from Ireland, where clouds have been long collecting which portend evil to the sister country.

But we indulge no such apprehensions. We do believe that there is an "Angel aloft" watching for the safety of Britain; and though she mourned for Poland, and sympathized with the oppressed of all nations, and had no feeling for the severer sorrows of Ireland, yet we do think there is enough of good in Britain to blot out the hand-writing that is against her, and shield her from the judgment. We do not doubt, that she will atone for the injuries which have been committed in her name, by measures of an opposite tendency, steadily and systematically pursued. We have some reliance upon the wisdom of government, but more upon the public spirit and benevolence of individuals. It is the glory of Great Britain, that private persons and societies do more, and do better than the government: though government can accomplish much in cultivating a kind interest in the affairs of Ireland, and guiding the spirit of benevolence to occupy itself in her neglected fields. In this way might the Union which has been effected acquire a firmness and solidity which no legislative measure could give it.

The effect of good government has never been tried in Ireland; yet the various cruel experiments which have been made upon that country have furnished some useful lessons. We would

not advise another experiment in insurrection, if such an experiment had been made. It is true, that in the progress of this hazardous enterprise, there was never any real danger to the state. The insurgents were prodigal of life to a degree that was almost appalling; they exhibited mere animal courage upon a scale that made it rise almost to a virtue, and gave it a kind of magnificence: by its unaided power they bore down disciplined armies, and scattered with this wild arm, as in scorn, the cumbrous machinery of war and all its laboured combinations. But the advantages won by such rare exertions of courage were lost by a degree of folly almost as wonderful. These daring insurgents were, to use a sentimental phrase, "the mere children of impulse;" they soon threw off the authority of the deluded gentlemen who had speculated in rebellion; and even the fanatic priests, who had succeeded to command, obtained but an uncertain control over their wayward motions. They were little more than a crowd of unarmed peasantry, (for a third part were not armed,) who would neither advance, nor retreat, nor make any movement, but according to their own humour at the moment. They evinced no skill in any thing; nor alacrity, but when there was an opportunity of fighting: they delighted in battle. It was as if they had no other pleasure, and no other object. Here were indeed the elements of

a power capable of achieving the greatest things, — almost any thing; but they were mere elements, the rudest, though the best.

The rebellion was of use, (for the worst things have their uses,) to exhibit, and certainly to raise very high, the character of the lower Irish. It threw back the cloud which a barbarous system of policy had spread over the moral powers and qualities of the people, and showed them undoubtedly in all their wildness, but also in their original brightness. The high-mindedness of the peasantry, their heroism in the field, their fidelity which no species of torture, and all were tried, could shake, which no blandishments could seduce; the terrors of solitary confinement, whipping even to lay bare the bones of the breathing skeleton, strangling, mutilation, the pitch-cap, picketing, death, direct and awful, with or without torture, suffered in the reflected agony of crowds, or solitary, and without sympathy, or meeting, in the last convulsions of the departing spirit, scorn and brutal derision; — all this, and more than all this, was endured, was submitted to voluntarily by thousands, with a calm and composed resolution, when a word might have changed the scene, and presented to these poor victims, not death, and scorn, and unutterable sufferings; but life, and safety, and

patronage, and rich reward. Never were we prouder of our native land, than in considering this amazing faithfulness, in a countless multitude of poor deluded people, in the cause which they believed to be that of their country. To betray only the name of but one of their associates was life and all that could make life desirable; to be silent was death, accompanied with whatever makes death most terrible. And the untutored peasant resolutely died. In the enduring fortitude, that scorned complaint; in the tranquil magnanimity of his death, he would have shed a lustre upon the cause for which he suffered, more bright than the splendour of a thousand victories, if that cause had been without objection.

It is some consolation, that all this prodigality of fine feeling, and steadfast principle, and firm, unflinching purpose; all this lamentable waste of life, and shedding of human blood, was not wholly in vain. Since the day of the treaty of Limerick, and the infraction of that treaty, the people had been so trampled upon, and abused with such impunity, that they began to consider themselves as something below human nature; and their oppressors became convinced of it. But when, at length, the wild and mighty power of the people broke from its chain, in all its

savageness and grandeur; displaying itself in the field, in feats of courage almost sublime, and assuming on the scaffold a still loftier dignity; their enemies were astonished, and could not refuse their admiration. Neither could they avoid feeling, that such a people were not to be abused with impunity. The peasantry conquered, at length, the respect which was their due; and in putting forth those high moral, and physical powers, which had surprised their adversaries by their unexpected splendor, they had learned also to feel and understand somewhat of their own importance. They discerned in their sufferings what they were able to endure, and in their very defeats they acquired a consciousness of strength, from which they derived a portion of self-esteem they had never yet enjoyed since days long past. Upon these circumstances, upon this feeling, they founded claims to a new consideration; claims which have been tacitly, though reluctantly, admitted, and established for ever. These are no inconsiderable advantages. And those who can recollect the contempt with which the peasantry of Ireland were regarded by the gentry, previous to the year ninety-eight, and the mischiefs which flowed from this unnatural scorn, will readily admit the change which has taken place, and know how to estimate its importance.

The Union broke the strength of the aristocracy in Ireland: the Rebellion raised the power of the people. These two events have changed the political balance in that country. The long and unwise agitation of the Catholic question, which followed the Union, has thrown an additional weight into the popular scale. It has exercised the minds of the people with speculations upon politics and popular rights, which may lead to much good, or to much evil.

To the shock of the Rebellion, to the awful concussion of the Union, to the continual agitation of the Catholic question, may be added the war, which produced great, though gradual changes in Ireland; and the peace which again undid every thing, and has shaken and unsettled the foundations of society. While the spirit of change and revolution was mingling every thing in Ireland, and disturbing the public mind, in its lowest depths, England and Scotland were going on in a comparatively peaceful and steady career of improvement. The order and tranquillity which reigned in these nations preserved Ireland from the otherwise inevitable consequences of the visitations she experienced. But, if that tranquillity should be disturbed, while yet the popular mind in Ireland has not found its place, nor settled into the new positions it may

be destined to occupy, the consequence may be disastrous.

We cannot undo what has been done; we cannot force back the mind of the people to its old levels; nor can we find for it new channels of servility and unquestioning submission; neither will it be safe to suffer it, in carelessness or contempt, to take its own way as accident may guide it. It would run for a little space, perhaps, with a clear and rapid current, like the newly discovered rivers of New South Wales, and then, spreading, become a pestilence and a curse to the land whence it had its source.

The question is not now, will you instruct the people? but, will you give a safe direction to that instruction which they have received, and are receiving? The people can no longer be deceived upon any subject; too much light has gone down to the lowest depths of society. Let those who have the care of the people avail themselves of this light; let them increase it, and diffuse it as widely as possible, until the people see distinctly their true interests. Revolutions will then take place only when they are necessary, and by peaceful means. The demagogue will retire into the shell of his own selfishness and be forgotten. There will be no more sanguinary rebellions.

SEPARATION.

It was the opinion of many speculators in Irish politics, that Ireland had outgrown her connexion with Great Britain; and the same persons maintained also the apparently inconsistent opinion, that a great majority of the population of the former country was in a semi-barbarous state; they concluded, that the connexion was a grievance, and that the population was in the best possible state for war: those were the opinions of Emmet, M'Nevin, and others, men of great talents: but those opinions were erroneous.

Whatever might have been the grievances of the connexion, the calamities which must have attended separation at that time, or even at any time since, would have been infinitely more afflicting. If we were inclined to admit the barbarism of the people, we should dispute the correctness of the assumption, that they were, on that account, fitted for war. A nation is unfit for war, in propor-

tion as it is barbarous; its fitness is in proportion to its civilization. This was sufficiently proved in ancient times, when the comparative civilization of Greece and Rome gave to the arms of those nations their immense superiority over the barbarians of their days. It is abundantly demonstrated in our own times, in various parts of the world, wherever European civilization comes in contact with the semi-barbarous and frequently warlike people of other countries. The Russians are frequently quoted, as a semi-barbarous people, and good soldiers; but they have proved inferior to the troops of France, and would be found greatly inferior to those of England.

But when the barbarity of Ireland is talked of, the matter is not fully comprehended; the barbarity of Ireland is not that of the tribes of India or North America, nor yet the barbarity of Russia. The Irish are a civilized people of the highest antiquity; theirs is a civilized barbarity. It is not the want of civilization which has made the Irish barbarous, it is the presence of great social and political evils, such as would produce this species of barbarism upon the most cultivated people in the world. The Irish peasantry are in no way inferior to the English, or to any other in Europe; they are as instructed, as intelligent, and as kind-hearted as any with whom they can be

compared: put the British peasantry into their situation, and see whether they will be more patient, and less criminal and cruel?

It was a mistake also, to talk of Ireland outgrowing the connexion; it was the connexion which prevented her growth. It is true, that in spite of this she had grown, but Great Britain had grown also; and the wealth and resources of the latter country surpassed, beyond measure, the rate of the advancement of Ireland, who, though her territory and population were nearly as a third to those of the other island, possessed not a tenth in wealth and industry. She had not indeed outgrown the connexion, but she had nearly outgrown oppression: Ireland can be oppressed no more with impunity; a few years will blot out the remnant of those distinctions which still obtain in that country, and will mould the whole population, with all their various qualities and ingredients, into one people: the gentry and the peasantry, the Saxon and Milesian race, will form one nation. This process must take place, spite of the most perverse policy.

There has always been in Ireland a separate party; the miseries of the connexion have preserved and prolonged its existence. Whether the government of that country will ever be wise

enough to heal these miseries, or whether they will be permitted to exist, until some political crisis shall again bring separation in view, and make Ireland once more the theatre of a deadly struggle — who can say? — who can in the latter alternative imagine the horrors of such a struggle?

Ireland is divided into two great parties, peasantry and gentry, Protestant and Catholic. A war of separation would be a war between these parties. Any war in Ireland, commence how it may, let it spring from whatsoever principle, would soon take this direction, and find the old and frightful channel in which the blood of that country has flowed for ages.

Never was a principle more free in its outset from religious taint than that of the "United Irish." But on the very breaking out of the insurrection, the old fiend, the evil genius of Ireland, appeared upon the field drinking the blood of the people — a long untasted luxury. A war of separation would soon become a religious war, and then a war of extermination: it would leave Ireland a desert, deluged with blood. But supposing what appears to us impossible, that these great parties were to concur to shake off the power of England, and that this were effected; what then? how many questions would start up

and press for a decision? Questions which have heretofore been decided by the arbitration of arms, and which, we fear, would admit again no inferior appeal. Where would the statesman find materials to build up his moral structure? Such as they are, they would ignite in his hands, and burn as they were brought in contact, until the whole island presented the aspect of a great volcano.

We partake not of the sickly sensibility of those who can see nothing in the fortunes of their beautiful island that is not to be deplored, and wept for. The history of all nations is thickly enough sown with crimes and calamities. Those of Ireland are a little nearer to us, and affect us by their proximity more strongly. Who is it in England now mourns over the Norman invasion, or weeps for the woes of the Saxons? Which is the Norman, or the Saxon blood, the truer English? Or must we go back to the days of Cæsar, to find a "True Briton," and trace the blood of the painted savage down to our times?

We find no cause of lamentation in the fact, that Ireland is a great and principal member of the first empire in the world. We deem it no light thing to sit at the right hand of Great

Britain, in all the importance of that high association; partner in the power of the Empire; sharing in the dignity and honours which it has gathered from its wide dominion over the globe, and from the great waters over which it sways its sceptre; and enjoying the splendour of that glory, with which genius, wisdom, knowledge, and liberty, have crowned it.

There is a reputation for nations, as well as for individuals. And in the one case, as in the other, it has its full effect in the world; and is a rich and precious inheritance. What Englishman is there that does not appropriate the genius of Burke, and the muse of Goldsmith? — and who disputes his title? What Englishman does not call Hume and Robertson his own; and pride himself in the fame of Scott and Stewart? Does not Great Britain shine out in the world, resplendent with the brightness of such names as these? And are not the names of Newton and Milton, and all the splendid men of England, — are they not all the inheritance of every Irishman, and of every Scot? This is a common property which forms, in our opinion, a bond of no ordinary power. As great perhaps, as language, and habits, and affinity, which are acknowledged by all writers to be powerful ties.

We are no advocates for doing away with every distinction which nature has made. The imperial unity would by no means be weakened by the national distinctions. The Englishman, the Scot, and the Irishman, might preserve each his peculiar nationality, without injury to that which is common to all. The strong nationality of the Scotch raises, we think, the character of that nation, and rather cements than obstructs its union with England. Every Scotchman is a Briton, and feels, as such, his dignity and importance. But he is not, therefore, the less a Scotchman; nor does he the less cherish the peculiar feelings and partialities which belong to his country. He has brought his full share to the common stock of the empire, whether of arms or intellect. He feels a deep interest in that empire which has been enriched, and adorned, and defended by his labours; and he feels justly proud of his own country, which has so largely contributed to that renown with which the world is full.

The diversities which encompass the throne and constitution of Britain contribute to their security and glory. Both would be yet more secure, and more glorious, if surrounded also by a more peculiar and stronger Irish feeling. It ought to be the policy of government, to

cultivate more of a national spirit amongst the higher classes in Ireland. The throne should be adorned with the green emblem of the country; and it ought to be in the highest honour at court.

The laws, unfortunately, encouraged for a long period a distinction in Ireland between the people of English and Irish race. And when, spite of every effort, the first, and second, and many other swarms of British adventurers lost all trace of distinction, and were mingled in the general mass of the population, it was taken up from time to time by crowds of new comers. And there is to be found, even at this day, amongst the descendants of the latest adventurers, a kind of indistinct notion, that they are something above, or more than mere Irish; and that they are entitled to rank beyond the mingled posterity of the more remote invaders. This notion, sufficiently vulgar and ludicrous in itself, finds something to subsist upon in the state of society in Ireland, and in the self-adoration, and folly of human nature. It is one of those feelings which partakes, almost equally, of pride and meanness. Nothing can be imagined more contemptible than a being of this kind, puffed up with the imagination that he is something superior to his country and his countrymen.

This is altogether an Irish disease. It is often, too inveterate for cure; but travelling is the best remedy. When this imaginary Englishman pays a visit to his imaginary country, he is surprised to find himself treated as a mere Irishman; he is mortified that no one can understand, or have any idea of his claims to be something other than Irish. Do what he can, let him be as elegant in his manners, and as defined in his language as he may, *John Bull* cannot comprehend it; and he is forced to be an Irishman while in England, perhaps to put on a little reluctant nationality, and to affect some awkward feeling for his native land. If he be a man of sense, he will return to his country cured of this disgusting affectation; if not, he will hasten home to resume his fool's cap, and act the blundering part of Englishman in Ireland.

Though this be an extremely ludicrous folly, yet it is very serious in its effects. It has been a great obstacle to the improvement of the country; in as much, as it has perpetuated the broken and disjointed state of society, which has for a long time existed in Ireland. It is a great evil in any country to be without a strong national feeling pervading and uniting the various classes of the people. It breaks the

bond which ought to unite the gentry with the lower classes of their countrymen. It puts enmity and strife between the various orders of the community, and takes away the only point at which the rich and poor can meet in perfect harmony and sympathy, and can love and respect each other on the ground of a common principle. The poor are ever patriotic. And this, their love of country, relieves and ennobles their poverty. When the rich are without it, a hopeless and disgusting selfishness sinks and degrades the character.

This is one of the great sources of that flood of corruption which so long disgraced and polluted Ireland. The gentry, without sympathy for their countrymen, or love for their country, seemed to consider themselves as a band of freebooters quartered upon the land. They could not be brought to think that they were at home in their own country, and amongst their own people, and they continued the work of pillage and plunder, under colour of law, which they had been trained to, in the field, during so many civil conflicts. But such a system could not continue; it became at length insupportable; and the gentry finding there must be a change, were determined to have the last penny, and sold the Parliament. Since the union there has been no great improvement.

Ireland is the only country, perhaps, where the national emblem, and the national colour, are in disrepute with the gentry; and where the national airs excite no feeling but anger and disgust. There have been persons who would generalize our affections, and argue away all our fond partialities, and merge our love of home, and native land, in a loose philanthropy embracing all human kind. We are not of their sect. And we rather think, that this species of generalized regard amounts to no regard at all. When our love is equally diffused over the whole globe, it must be almost as nothing upon any given spot. This universal affection is only the pretence of selfishness, and coldness of heart.

Whatever strongly calls out our affections, and fixes them worthily, dignifies and adorns the character. Love is opposed to self-love: the latter is the source of our worst vices, the former of our greatest virtues. Self-love is, in the heart, like a spring of water in some subterranean cavern — it refreshes no living thing, there is no vegetation upon its border, the dews of the breathing earth do not fall upon it, and the sun-beam communicates no brilliancy or warmth; it sits cold, colourless, and desolate in its bed of flint, while the kind affections of the heart pour themselves out upon our kindred,

and our country, like running streams in the grassy vallies — blest and blessing in all their course.

The union, if it had been followed up by the necessary measures, whatever might be its evils, would, perhaps, have done something to correct the folly we have been alluding to. A more intimate intercourse with the English people would have convinced the gentry of Ireland of the ridicule of any attempt to disclaim their country. Any such attempt would be treated by that plain and manly people with the derision and contempt it deserved; and would be found to be far from being a passport to their good opinion.

But the war, — a great source of evils of another kind, had a powerful, and extensive influence, in bringing this affectation into disrepute. Carried on as this war was, by land and sea, for so great a number of years, on a scale so extensive, and exciting so deep and profound an interest; it mingled the three nations more thoroughly than could have been effected for ages by any other process.

There is a closeness and intimacy of association, which draw men together in the perils of

warfare. There is a complete unfolding of the character. The heart throws off, perforce, its disguises, and the understanding puts out all its powers, amidst the "hair-breadth scapes" and the innumerable accidents of flood and field. Here, men are forced to know and to value each other, not for the little adventitious circumstances upon which, in ordinary cases, they generally found their claims to estimation, but for those solid qualities of head and heart which alone are valuable. In the close collision of arms, men rub off their prejudices, and learn to form just opinions of those who fight by their sides, and of those who fight against them.

In this long warfare, all classes of the people met and mingled in intimate association — the peasant and the artizan, the seaman and the landsman, and the sons of every degree of gentry and nobility. Here friendships were formed which will last for life, and intimacies that will descend to distant generations; and which had for their basis, not a community of country, but the high communion of exalted qualities.

The war brought the nations of the empire acquainted with each other; and made them to discern the foolishness of their prejudices; and to see, that amongst them there was neither su-

periority, nor inferiority — nothing upon which to rest an extravagant assumption, and, still less, to excuse the meanness that would disown its country.

If some of the Protestant gentry in Ireland have occasionally shown a disposition to be considered as something else than Irish, there is another party, on the other hand, who have evinced a desire to monopolize this distinction. These are the "emphatic" people of Ireland. Nothing can be more absurd than this emphatic Irishism; which affects to cast out, in public opinion, a great proportion of the gentry of Ireland from the bosom of their country; and it would be merely ridiculous, if it were not that the gentry themselves gave some countenance and effect to this kind of expatriation. We know, indeed, that these extremes produce each other. The want of patriotic feeling in some of the gentry, has excited in another party a more than common love of country, or profession of it — while this profession, associated as it was in the imaginations of the gentry with much that was vulgar and hostile, led them to regard patriotic feeling, or the expression of it, as something low, factious, and contemptible, below the dignity of gentlemen, and fit only for the mob.

This was a sickly sentiment; and those who yielded to it fell into the snare that was prepared for them. If there be yet a party in Ireland who look to separation, their object will be best attained by keeping the gentry in that state of alienation in which they have placed themselves. It is easy to disgust them with patriotism; but this state of feeling is full of danger to the country and to themselves. We would appeal from the exclusive principle of one party, and the anti-Irish weakness of another, to a better spirit, which, we hope, is yet to be found in Ireland — to that high and manly spirit which ought ever to dwell in the breasts of Irish gentlemen — despising every antiquated pretension, and every arrogant claim — putting away the memory of every forgotten feud, and the badge of every party — cherishing the land of their birth and their fortunes — asserting their title to be Irishmen in fact and in feeling, with the same boldness and confidence, with which they would assert their title to their estates, and the same assurance of full and perfect right and possession. Let not the gentlemen of Ireland leave the green symbol of their country, so precious in the eyes of the people, for ever in the hands of the factious; let them show that they are proud to wear it, and that they do not disdain to mingle their sympathies with the general current of the national feeling.

The danger of separation, which threatened before the union, and threatens still, has its source in the want of sympathy between the great parties in the island; one, in possession, in a very great degree, of the physical power of the nation, and the other of the property. "We do not affect to shut our eyes to the advantages of a resident national government; but we could not go into a consideration of these, without taking into account also the calamities which must accompany such a change, and the advantages which must be surrendered. It is necessary that revolutions come; without these, human affairs would stagnate, and perish in their own corruptions. But we abhor the cold speculator in such catastrophes. We could not endure the man who could sit down and calculate upon the ruin of thousands, and form deliberate plans for the destruction of families, and the overthrow of empires. The nation that has been suddenly subjugated may rise and throw off its yoke; but it is another thing to plot the subversion of a long established order of things, which time has consolidated. Ireland did not fall under the dominion of Great Britain, without long and fearful struggles; and she might well be proud of her glorious resistance. She fought under every disadvantage of a divided and scattered power; but she yielded only in the ex-

tremity of annihilation. Call her wars rebellions, if you please: with her they were contests for national independence.

But the case is now changed. Time has legitimized the usurpation of Britain: time, which in every case confers the most valid title, has established the throne of the British monarch in Ireland, and made his right sacred. It can no more be disturbed or assailed without crime; for Heaven has written upon it its sure legend of property,—time and possession: a legend, the authority of which great abuses only can destroy.

If separation were possible, if it were not criminal, if it involved none of those great calamities which attend all revolutions, if Ireland possessed the materials of a well-compacted and solid commonwealth, still there would remain questions of deep interest to be debated. Would separation be desirable, situated as Ireland is upon the map of the world?—touching the larger island of Great Britain at so many points—lying opposite to the great States of America, whom she would be compelled to meet upon the ocean, and having the great kingdoms of France and Spain to the southward? It was admitted by the projectors of separation, that a close alli-

ance with Great Britain would be necessary, to enable one or both the islands to balance themselves with effect against the neighbouring nations. This admission was a surrender of the question.

That alliance is now more complete and effectual for its purpose than it could be under any other circumstances; and though it be purchased, as far as Ireland is concerned, by many painful sacrifices, we think it worth some; and it is attended also by other, and important, advantages. Some of these we have glanced at already.

It was proposed to obviate some of the difficulties which would follow separation, by a species of federal connexion: such a connexion could not be permanent. Two independent nations, of unequal strength, and lying close together, would not long remain at peace: their position, and their inequality, would lead to war. Every circumstance, such as the similarity of language and manners, which would cement the union of united nations, would, in case of separation, heighten the probability of dissension, and make war inevitable. The balance between the nations might, indeed, occasionally be maintained by well-managed alliances; but woe to

the nation which is forced to rest its security upon foreign aid, or the wretched reliance of treaty, or policy. This is a dear defence of nations.

Small states, though possessing some advantages, cannot go forth like lusty labourers into the world's harvest, and reap their due proportion. They must be content with the gleanings of the field, and satisfied to take even these, accompanied frequently with insult or injury. There is a benevolence which consoles and protects individual weakness: the strong and the powerful amongst men have hearts which plead for the oppressed of the world; but nations have no hearts. The feeble amongst these are trodden down without remorse, and insulted without pity. There is, upon the whole earth, a spirit of contention and striving: man against man, and nation against nation; and this must ever be so, until the whole economy of human affairs be altered.

However much this may be to be regretted, we are forced, as communities, to submit to the general law. As individuals, it may be permitted to some few of us to withdraw from the general bustle, and to look calmly and unconcerned upon the struggles and the contests of men; but the great

mass of mankind are driven along by the irresistible power of circumstance and situation, and forced, consenting or reluctant, into the soiled arena of the world. Here the nations must take their places: for them there is no exemption; and, we confess, that as the law is not to be questioned, which commands our appearance at the general assembly of the states of the earth, we would choose to appear there with honour: we would prefer to sit down in a seat of dignity, and to have our place amongst the greater communities of mankind.

But it is not to be denied, that these, and all the other advantages which could be enumerated, as attending the political connexion of the two islands, may be purchased too dearly. We would recommend this consideration to the thoughtful attention of Great Britain. Let it be remembered, that notwithstanding all the acts of the British and Irish Parliaments, the sea continues to roll between the two islands; and the tides of the ocean, since the days of Canute, have not learned to obey even a British Monarch.

PEACE.

THE folly of war is at length beginning to be understood. Individuals may, occasionally, gain something by their contests; but nations can do no other than lose. Perhaps the last grand experiment of the French war was necessary to demonstrate this truth. It was during this war an opinion, almost universally received, that our commerce, trade, and prosperity were greatly promoted by the unnatural state of hostility in which we were so long engaged with our neighbours. The prosperity produced by the war was undoubted; but there was great error as to the cause of it. It was supposed to have its source in our monopoly of commerce, colonies, and ships. But it really, and almost entirely, flowed from the vast expenditure of the government in the prosecution of their widely extended operations by sea and land. The nation was in the condition of a man who sells, or mortgages, his estate for more than its value, and expends the whole purchase money in a few years, in

good living, and in a comfortable and costly family establishment.

It is obvious, that while the money lasted — while this rate of expenditure was continued, such a family must live in great ease and affluence; but there must be an end of such a course: means would at length fail, and credit be exhausted; or if before this occurred, the individual in question sought at length to retrieve his affairs by reducing his expenditure, and making an effort to answer his engagements, it is evident, that he must now suffer a degree of distress, more than proportioned to the prosperity formerly produced by his lavish expenditure. During the war we spent the capital and income of ages to come: all borrowing is a means of bringing into the present time the resources of futurity; and when this takes place upon a great national scale, it must act as an amazing stimulus, exciting, to a great extent, the industry and activity of the people. The expenditure of the war not only promoted our industry, and stimulated the ingenuity of the people, but it also increased our population in no inconsiderable degree.

We have said elsewhere, that we do not agree with some modern economists in thinking

that population is poverty. We believe that population is wealth; but when population is produced out of due season by an unnatural cause, such as a long war and the laying out, in the course of a few years, of the treasures of future ages, we are fully aware of the inconveniences of such a population, when we are at length arrived at a state of "transition." It might as well be said, that all the other advantages, and they are very great, derived from a war expenditure, are not wealth; such as the capital accumulated, the industry and ingenuity developed, the roads, bridges, canals, machines, manufactures, buildings, which owe their existence to the extraordinary excitement of the war, and the sudden influx into the country of the anticipated treasures of posterity. The war expenditure has pushed us on many years in the race of improvement and population; and this would be very far from being to be regretted, if it were not that we are now destined to suffer all the inconveniences of this excessive excitement. We may, by artificial means, anticipate the natural influence of the summer's sun, and produce in the cold of an ungenial spring, all the rich juices and glowing tints of autumn. But if the glass be suddenly removed, and the flourishing tree be left all exposed to the blight and bitterness of the yet lingering blasts of winter, what

will be the effect? We apprehend they could be equalled only by the evils of "transition" in our political system.

The wealth accumulated during the war, might have enabled the country, for a considerable time, to support the pressure of transition, if the pressure had been equal. But while some classes escaped from this natural re-action, and others were affected but slightly, the whole weight of the burden fell upon those whose evil fortune it was to be devoted in this great change. The agriculturists suffered most; but it is said that these also profited most by the war. It is true they did occasionally profit; but not, by any means, to the same extent as other classes. The monied, and the manufacturing interest, gained most by the war; and they have suffered least by the peace. Agriculturists never accumulate; and a few bad years invariably reduce them to distress and despair. The class of landlords profited most, as an agricultural class, during the war: the tenants somewhat: they have also suffered most in consequence of the peace, except only their tenants, who have suffered still more.

The burden of the manufacturing interest fell heavily, by means of the poor-rates, during the

war, upon the agricultural class, and continues still to press upon them in their fallen condition. The agriculturists can only be relieved by a revision of the poor laws, and an immediate and extensive relief from taxes. The relief already obtained was too late, and too little: much more must be done, and that quickly, if the country would be saved from the most frightful agitations. It is asked how can this be done consistently with faith to the public creditor? And it is sought to engage all those who have an interest in the public funds, in the continuation of a system of burdensome and ruinous taxation. But it is clearly the interest of the fund-owners that the taxes should be lightened: this will give additional value to their property, by cheapening labour and every article of luxury and enjoyment. But they should consider, before all things, that their chief interest is the security of their property, and that this is immediately connected with the tranquillity of the country. It is not their interest that large bodies of men should be driven to despair.

The fund-owners have never shewn any backwardness to make reasonable sacrifices; and those who advise any sweeping measures against their property are not the friends of the country. The public debt is the public wealth also; and,

even upon public grounds, it ought not to be invaded by the hand of any daring experimenter. It is not our purpose to point out any plan of finance; but great reductions must be made in taxation, however it is to be accomplished; and that this is possible, without breaking faith with the public creditor, we are fully persuaded. These reductions must also be made speedily, or they will be too late. Time presses; and all our measures are tardy and insufficient. In Ireland, the blame has been laid to the account of the landlord; and it is true he has been slow in making his reductions. But the charge against him is oddly made by those who still contend, in that country, for tythes and taxation. Why did not an enlightened government — the collected wisdom of the nation, set the landlord a good example? Where was to be seen, upon their part, the decision and alacrity which the times called for, in reducing their establishments? There are many motives which might make an individual slow in reducing his household, which could not operate upon the government of any country. Such motives perhaps are not to be defended, but they will be felt. If government plead their debts and engagements, have not the gentlemen of Ireland these also in abundance?

The times call for reductions upon all hands. The pressure must be spread over the whole surface of the country, and equalized as much as possible. Government should begin: they are the chief party in this case. The country gentlemen should be enabled, by a great reduction in taxation, to make those abatements to their tenantry which are absolutely necessary: without this, they cannot make those abatements, nor give that employment which would relieve the people. It is true that the system of tythes and taxes might be continued until rent was annihilated, and the gentry of the country destroyed; and we have been coldly told, that such a result could not affect the public prosperity. The land would change hands — that is all.

The present system of taxation must destroy rent; and possibly, it may rid the landlords of their estates by another process, if that contemplated by certain statesmen should fail, — it may succeed in convulsing the country from one end to the other; and the evils of "transition" may terminate in the greater calamity of civil war. The country gentlemen will have to meet their tenantry in the field, and risk their lives and fortunes once more, in a deadly contest, for the continuance of tythes and taxes. They will exhibit the singular spectacle of a conflict for a

common grievance. The gentlemen, however, would be the worse off: their victory would give permanency to the mischief which must ruin them: their defeat would be only a more speedy destruction.

During the war there was no capital accumulated in Ireland, which might enable that country to bear the taxation of "transition." Most part of the profits which that country might have made by the war, she lost by the union: she lost even the clothing of the army which had been upon her own establishment. The most insignificant military accoutrements were sent over ready-made from England. Ireland furnished indeed the strong limbs; but she was not permitted to clothe nor to equip them: she reaped nothing of the great harvest of wealth which the war afforded. Britain gathered it all. There was a high, price it is true, in the other island for raw material, corn, beef, and butter; but no nation ever grew rich by the export of such articles. The profits of the farmers were counterbalanced by taxation: the profits to the country were more than outweighed by the encouragement which high rents gave to absenteeism; and nothing now remains to this unhappy country of all which the war achieved for her, but some good roads, the convenience of which, in a country without trade or

manufactures, is hardly equal to the expence of keeping them in repair; a weight of taxes which she is utterly unable to support; a great increase of absentees, and an immense population without employment, because without capital.

"Transition" has its evils in England; but the war which created, left also in that country the means of supporting them. The case of Ireland is desperate. It has been proposed to make that country as cheap a place of residence as the Continent, by doing away with all taxation, and by this means to induce the absentees, if possible, to return to their homes, and their duties. We think this should be tried: it might not succeed, extensively, with the absentees; but it would relieve the people, and enable the middle and higher classes to give employment to the lower. The reduction of rents, and tythes, and taxes, has been so slow, and insufficient, that these have eaten up the little capital that was in the country. The people are now utterly destitute, and almost desperate. It is true, they may be subdued; but it will cost less to reduce the taxes. If the question is, as we believe it very nearly to be, between taxes and tythes, and civil war, we would recommend to give up the former upon a principle of economy merely, if not upon any better principle.

We should hope that we are at length arrived at that degree of civilization and experience, which will ensure us from such experiments in the government of nations, and inter-national policy, as the late French and American contests; from both of which we derive our immense debt. We have learned now, that we are gainers by the *loss* of our American colonies; and that, probably, we should continue to gain, if the same fate were to befal some of our other colonial possessions. We cannot have too many colonies, that is, settlements, in distant parts of the world, of our own nation and people;—these are eminently useful. They form links of kindred, and civilized communities, round the globe. In the most distant parts of the world we find those who have our wants, our feelings, and our language. We increase the facilities of commerce and communication, and add to the general happiness and prosperity of mankind, while we take the most effectual steps to promote our own.

But we lose many of the advantages of kindred colonies, when we burden ourselves for too long a period with the care and expense of their government. When our colonies are grown up to maturity, and are arrived at full age, they should always be entrusted with the management of their own concerns: if not, they will become

impatient under a protracted guardianship; and there will be, perhaps, a disastrous quarrel, as in the case of America; or they will fall into a listless, indolent apathy: they will cease to be a source of profit, and become a heavy and expensive burden upon the country. The industry and activity, which followed the independence of America, opened up inexhaustible springs of wealth for this country, which under our government would have been hidden for ever. It is true, we wantonly turned away the streams, and used an unhappy industry to divert their courses. But our "orders in council" could not dry up the fountains of wealth which freedom had opened, nor prevent this nation, wholly, from drinking of their refreshing waters. We are now also aware of the folly of the recent American quarrel, as of the war which established American independence, and the impolicy of that strange species of semi-warfare, the "orders in council." All these are now known to have been errors in policy; to have been expensive in their progress, and ruinous in their consequences.

The war with France, originally a war against opinion, became in its progress a war against the despotism and military system of Bonaparte. This war has ended by leaving us some hundred

millions of debt, and in the establishment of the worn-out family of the Bourbons upon the throne of France. We have given that country a government unsuited to the age and people, and sown in our triumphs the seeds of another revolution. The government of Bonaparte, kept in check by our power, and softened by time, would have at length become moderate, rational, and peaceful. It would have been a strong and firm government. Its stability would have been a security to the existing governments of Europe. Bonaparte was no friend to revolutions. But our war policy, and our victories, have thrown all Europe into an unnatural state. We are surrounded by governments upheld by military force merely. Such a state of things is not likely to continue. Wherever we turn our eyes,—in France, Germany, and Italy, we see this aweful and perilous experiment made. And when we survey the state of our country, is it more consoling, with our debt, our taxes, and our discontents?

The war has led us, through blood, and toil, and a fearful expenditure, to the threshold of new changes, perhaps more alarming than those we set out with combating. The debt, and deranged state of the finances in France, hastened the revolution; and, in order to stay the

progress of this portentous change, we rushed into a war which has prepared all Europe for similar changes, and brought ourselves nearly into that state in which France was, at the commencement of her series of revolutions. Such have been the effects and issue of our wars. The American war of independence precipitated the French revolution, while England gathered the harvest of that freedom which was conquered from her. She had less to fear than her old rival from the contagion of free principles, and more to gain from the wealth and industry which follow in their path. The war of the French revolution would, perhaps, have brought us into great peril; but in this amazing struggle there was a redeeming spirit. We have been saved from convulsion and disorder: time has been given us; and the period of our visitation is at least postponed. The debt accumulated in the war was enough, infinitely more than enough, for our ruin; and our destruction would have been inevitable, if it had not been for the active industry promoted, the capital created, the wealth accumulated, and the busy population called into existence by the wants of the war, and the expenditure of the government. These all stood between us and ruin. They bore the weight of our debt, and lightened its destructive pressure; and they support it still. If these

defences seem at length to be failing us, and gradually, and slowly, suffering the undiminished weight of our burdens to fall more and more heavily upon the people — these are signs that relief must be found speedily.

The wars and the victories of Lewis the XIVth, the triumphs of Condé and Turenne, had prepared the catastrophe of the revolution, which the unlucky assistance given to the Americans only tended to accelerate. So, the efforts of our William, and the achievements of Marlborough and Eugene, laid the foundation of that debt which has since been built up to a height that threatens the whole country, in the event of its fall. It is evident that such debts cannot be accumulated without disturbing the ordinary and safe progression of society, either by pushing it forward at a too rapid rate of improvement and population, or by throwing it back, and retarding its advancement for ages. The wars of ancient times were wars of conquest and ambition. The conquered nations were laid waste and destroyed. The conquerors were merely robbers, and were, in process of time, ruined by the amount and accumulation of their spoil. Modern wars were still more foolish—some insignificant and burdensome colony, some imaginary point of honor, or some interest of trade, ill understood, and, perhaps, totally mistaken.

The American war, as well as the late French war and our more remote enterprises of this nature, had its period of "transition." But the nation, after a while, started afresh, full of life and vigour, and abounding in resources. The weight of the American burdens was hardly felt upon her sinewy arms. There was cause for this new energy: America was independent: Ireland was free. The freedom of the one, and the independence of the other, arose out of the contest which had been just concluded, and more than balanced the burdens it had left. The growth of Ireland was astonishing under her new constitution. That of America was still more surprising. The new industry and energy which beat high in the heart of her sister Ireland, and her late colonies, soon communicated the quick and vigorous pulsation to every corner of Britain. The wealth which was rapidly created in America and Ireland, found its way to England, and gave a new stimulus to every thing. The debt was no longer felt. The evils of transition were already past. England accumulated her burdens in wars of her own devising: relief was conquered from her. Ireland and America wrung from her grasp the very measures which saved her.

Great as our burdens are now, perhaps if another America could be found, and another such

Ireland, there might yet be a chance of safety. But Ireland is in a far different situation. The Union has crippled her, and brought her a beggar and naked to our doors, an object of pity and charitable compassion, rather than a wealthy and active customer, taking largely of our manufactures and giving hers in return. A different system of policy, perhaps, might have saved both countries from the deadly effects of the Union. Such a system was talked of, but not tried. And we have Ireland now, poor, savage, desperate, and almost an enemy.

We have taught the North Americans to do without us; and have been successful in reducing our commerce with a nation of brothers, to its least possible amount. Another America has, indeed, in this our extremity, sought our alliance, and opened wide its arms of friendship. But we have met the advances of this new and providential help and ally coldly; and we will, perhaps, succeed, also, in chilling the partialities of our new friends, and inducing them to manage without us, and to look elsewhere for that favour they were so willing and so well able to reward. The politics which gave us the peace with America, and gave the constitution of 1782 to Ireland, saved the country from the consequences of a series of errors, and the effects of a ruinous

expenditure. These wise measures carried the country, at that period, unhurt through the perils of "transition."

It is true that our debt is now, beyond all calculation, greater than at the close of the American war. But the wealth and resources of Great Britain are greater also. The question to be considered is, whether the accumulation of our debt has not greatly exceeded the accumulation of our resources? And whether our connections in various parts of the world, and the prospects before us, are such as to encourage any hope that we shall be able to bear the pressure of those burdens which the war has left us? The great accumulation of funded property created by our wars, has this very serious inconvenience, as compared with property in land: it permits the owner to escape the burdens imposed for the benefit of the country, and the security of his own property. The fund-owner may live where he pleases. He may derive his income from that debt which presses down the country, and makes England the dearest place of residence upon the globe; and he may reside on the cheapest spot in Europe, and give all the benefit of his residence and his expenditure to those countries which we have exhausted ourselves in upholding or subduing.

The fund-owner has no connection with the land or the tenantry of the country. He has little sympathy with the people, and necessarily knows little about them. All this is a great evil,—a much greater evil than has been confessed or imagined. The funded system has greatly increased the number of Irish absentees: it has created a new class of English absentees. It is annually taking a vast amount of property out of the country; and will, ultimately, remove a great portion of that capital, the interest of which only is now expended in foreign lands. Persons resident for many years abroad will there finally make their home, and transfer their property. They will form new associations and connections; and they will at length cease to be Englishmen.

When there was little other property than that vested in trade or in land, men were compelled to live at home, and to give their country and their tenantry the advantage of their residence and expenditure. These advantages appear to us to be far from being justly appreciated in our day. It is the fashion to attempt to argue away these great national interests. We should be far from recommending harsh measures either in Ireland or England to compel residence, or to punish non-residence. But we must be permitted to deplore these calamities—to advert to this

additional evil of our system of debt; to counteract which every prudent measure ought to be adopted.

The fund-holder soon loses his nationality. He becomes a citizen of the world, transferring his property at pleasure to French, or Spanish, or American securities, as convenience or profit induce him. If the state of things in England became unsettled or threatening by any unlooked-for accident or occurrence, we should see this class of undomesticated animals immediately upon the wing, moving in clouds across the Channel, laden with their papers, to be vested in other depositories; and we should see England, perhaps, very nearly what Ireland is now—the whole population like an army of disbanded soldiers, without officers to guide or control them, and kept in check only by occasional skirmishes and executions, when they become desperate or disorderly.

All these evils our wars have accumulated: the benefits, if any, which we derive from them, pass away speedily: the evil remains behind, and endures for ever. Lewis soon perished, and his system and his victories died before him. We were not more fortunate. What were the results, after a few years, of the splendid triumphs of Marlborough and our allies? Where were they

after the peace? But, ask at the Exchequer and at the Bank of England where is the debt then contracted, and you will find it more enduring. Not to speak of the American war, in which we in reality *gained* defeat and discomfiture, at the cost of a hundred millions, where already are the triumphs of our soldiers in Portugal, Spain, and at Waterloo? Can they be satisfactorily discerned in the present troubled aspect of affairs in Europe? We have settled the peace of the world, and Bonaparte died in his cage. Is that peace likely to endure many years? What security have we that other, and more vigorous, and younger Bonapartes shall not arise? And are we to fight the battle over again? Are we to be for ever engaged in a vain and foolish contention with the natural progress of things, and the plans of Providence?

We rely, perhaps, upon the Holy Alliance. But the holiness of this famous alliance will be swept away in a few years, by those despisers of holiness and regal dignity—Time and Death. The alliance will crumble to pieces; and things will go their natural course, only with a little more violence, perhaps, in consequence of the obstructions which had been for a time thrown in their way. A club of royal persons of this kind, if it could be imagined to be perpetual, or even to endure for a long period, would be the greatest

abuse that has ever yet been seen in the world, and would not fail, ultimately, to bring royalty into utter disrepute. There may be, we see, confederacies of sovereigns; but there could hardly be any such dangerous combinations of states having other forms of government. If it were possible that such confederacies could endure for any considerable length of time, liberty would be but a name in Europe. The Neapolitan drama would be acted in every land that boasted of liberty, or dared be free. This is the most dangerous experiment to themselves, and their dominions, that sovereigns have yet attempted, and will not fail to be relied upon by the enemies of kingly government, as the strongest argument that has ever yet been furnished to them.

The monstrous enormity which was practised at Naples in the face of all Europe, is enough for the character of the Holy Alliance, and sufficient to assure us that it cannot endure. There is folly and iniquity enough in ordinary wars; but when a foreign sovereign, or a club of such sovereigns, makes war upon a people with whom he has no concern, for the purpose, merely, of dictating in their private arrangements and form of government, and continues to uphold by force a government imposed by violence, such things must perish.

The struggles of Greece and Italy might well excuse a passing observation. With these nations are associated all our early and fondest recollections. Their history, the lives and actions of their great men, are laid up in our memory. We are deemed polite and learned only as we are acquainted with the works of their poets, philosophers, and historians. Their languages form the study of our early years, and are the great business of our universities. The works of their sculptors adorn our halls and palaces, and are purchased as objects of public and national concern. Every thing reminds us of Greece and Italy; and yet, all this is considered consistent with the utmost apathy and indifference as to the present state and condition of these countries and people. We would contend for a mutilated statue, and give thousands for a broken column; but we have no zeal for the cause of the living Greek, nor funds for the prostrate Italian. The resistance of the Greeks is not the rebellion of subject against sovereign. The Turk is still what he was hundreds of years ago, a foreigner, a robber, and a tyrant. His government was never legitimised in Greece. They are not the same men who fight now for liberty; but the cause is the same as that which inspired the soldiers of Themistocles.

There is something strange in the fates of these nations, once the lights and leaders of the pagan world. One groaning under the sceptre of the Mahomedan prophet, and the other chained at the foot of the papal throne.

It is the principle of the Holy Alliance to perpetuate old abuses and abominations upon the ground of legitimacy. But they cannot be perpetuated. When we contend against the spirit of the times, we war against the fates; and our warfare must be unsuccessful, and may be ruinous to ourselves. Britain should not be seen in league, upon any common principle, with the absolute sovereigns of Germany and Russia. Her natural position was at the head of free principles and liberal opinions throughout the world. If she desert this post of honour and glory, in the great community of nations, she will gain no other fit for her to occupy, and must sink rapidly in influence, character, and power. The wealth of Britain is her character and her freedom. Take these away, and her lot is poverty and disgrace.

We have asked what has been the issue of her wars from the most remote time? Her last has prepared a new revolution in France, and revolutions all over Europe. The silly contrivance

of the Holy Alliance may precipitate, but cannot prevent this; or, if it retard it for a moment, it will only serve to make these violent and bloody, which would, otherwise, take place peaceably, and with little private suffering or public commotion. The war has prepared Ireland for great changes and desperate enterprises; and the half measures pursued in that country — the feeble efforts of a divided government, will by no means control or satisfy a nation conscious of its strength, and exasperated by a long course of miserable and shuffling policy, and harsh and wicked misgovernment.

We are not far from the period when the folly of war will be fully understood, and nations will struggle no more for paltry objects of what is called policy, and send out, at an enormous expense, thousands of men, equipped with sabres and bayonets, and ornamented with coloured tape and gilt spangles, to wound and kill other men, with whom they never had any cause of quarrel, sent out for the like purpose, and ornamented in the same fanciful manner. Nations will not ruin themselves with the expenses of such sensible proceedings, and incur the certain miseries of "transition," for any of the old follies of past times. They will struggle for their liberties only. Population and improvement will

then proceed at a certain and regular rate of progression: they will not be forced forward by war, and then thrown violently back by peace, until, by these unhappy situations, nations become convulsed in every limb, and are driven to desperation by their own sufferings.

The miseries of the most desolating campaign, cannot be compared to the wretchedness occasioned by a return to peace and its "transition." Even though we were to add the sufferings of the ocean to those of the land, and the cruelties which human beings inflict upon each other, even upon the bosom of the uncertain element, itself so full of peril and of fate—though we were to count the robberies, perpetrated in our enlightened and Christian age, upon defenceless and unoffending individuals navigating the seas upon their private concerns, and harmlessly engaged in promoting the general interests of mankind—though we should count up all these wicked robberies, perpetrated under colour of certain laws and usages of nations as alleged, we should yet be far from the sum of the calamities occasioned by "transition." These make no show: they are not heard of in paragraphs or despatches. There is no noise or bustle in their accomplishment. The heart of the sufferer is not at once broken, and his agony ended in one desperate

and decisive stroke of fortune. The ruin that comes upon him is slow in its approaches, but certain. There is no room for the consolatory delusions of hope. There is no escape. The heart is withered in silence. The despair that spreads and widens round the unhappy victim of "transition," takes away all energy, deprives him of all resource, and he sinks into a ruin, to which war, with all its horrors, has nothing comparable, nothing so full of woe. The evils of "transition" have come upon Ireland in all their overwhelming power. Wave after wave has swept the land; and when this ocean of calamity shall have at length borne away all that attached the people to their homes and their duties, and its last receding waters shall have carried off every human restraint and all moral principle, we shall discover what we have gained by our wars and acquired by our triumphs, and, perhaps, the value of peace to the people.

WHIGS, TORIES, RADICALS.

The principle of Whigism, in England, is limited monarchy. The principle of Toryism, is absolute power. Radicalism is republicanism. The first of these principles seated the Hanoverian family upon the throne. The second would have fixed a crown of despotism upon the head of the Stuart. The third is not the bold spirit of religious zeal, or fanaticism, which, in the days of the Commonwealth, shook the legitimate usurper of the people's rights from the throne of his fathers, and prepared the foundation of that constitutional monarchy which has been the glory of Britain. It is rather the fierce and fawning serpent of the French revolution, which has made its nest on this side of the channel. Radicalism, as in France, has allied itself with infidelity, and would ally itself with despotism, in order to overturn the throne.

When the princes of the house of Brunswick were firmly seated on the throne, and relieved

from the danger of the Stuarts, it was perceived that they inclined towards Toryism. This was natural. Power loves not the instruments of its good fortune: besides, the Tories were less the enemies of the house of Brunswick, than foes to popular rights—less friends to the house of Stuart, than to absolute power. The coalition which took place between Power and Toryism was natural, but was unhappy. Toryism leads to revolution. It would lead to despotism, if that were possible in these islands; and, failing in this, its natural object, it must lead, as it has ever led, to revolution. We are far from intending to assert that despotism or revolution are within the contemplation of numbers, who are to be found in the ranks of this numerous and successful party.

The Tories, for the most part, have nothing in view but their own interest, or that of their friends, which is best promoted by adhering to the party having the favour of the court; or, they are Tories merely from habit, and connection, and, perhaps, inheritance. By such accidents, frequently, are men led, and formed, and moulded to good or evil. A man who is satisfied with the purity of his intention, and the consciousness of high and honourable feeling, will hardly be persuaded of the evil tendency of his prin-

ciples and practice. He may, perhaps, be also determined to avoid the dangers to which the principles of his party would lead, if suffered to run their natural course. And while he guards against these, with all the caution and prudence which he thinks necessary, he will, probably, think himself entitled to enjoy freely those honors and emoluments, which fortunately belong to his political position.

Toryism was greatly promoted by the French revolution, and the war in which that revolution unhappily engaged this country. The whigs generally opposed the war, and rejoiced in the revolution which overthrew the old and barbarous, though polished despotism of the French monarchy. They could not see, even in the horrors of the revolution, a motive for war. They considered a war against impiety as a strange and alarming novelty, and a war against the violence and enormities of civil conflict as a fit enterprise for a statesman of the school of La Mancha only. Such a chivalrous spirit might add the woes of his own people to those of the objects of his generous concern; but he could hardly hope to alleviate them.

Possibly the whigs, or some of them, made too lightly of the appalling wickedness which marked

the course of the French revolution. It is certain, however, that this great event alarmed the whole nation, and divided the whigs themselves; and when some humble imitators of French politics and impiety, commenced their experiments in liberality and fraternity, the two islands shook, and were convulsed with horror and apprehension. But when Mr. Burke, who had carried the banner of whigism, and was the bravest and best knight in the veteran bands of the constitution—upon the point of whose polished spear the lightning of heaven gleamed in terrific splendour—when he appeared in front of the enemy's line, bearing down, with all the weight and power of his eloquence, the cohorts he had led for so many years, and the friends and companions he had cherished through a long life of honourable toil, was it surprising that the effect was powerful?

The triumph of the tories was almost complete; but the events of the war established and secured it. The amazing exertions of the nation put every thing into activity. The vast expenditure of the government drew round itself a solid mass of private interest, and connected the minister with a great multitude of families and individuals in every corner of the land; all reaping largely of the harvest which a

new and amazing system of state politics, and an unprecedented war, had sowed and prepared. It was not to be wondered at, that under the influence of such a variety of causes, the old constitutional doctrine of whigism should have fallen into disrepute. Whigism was opposed to the war; and the war gave employment to hundreds of thousands: it was opposed to the lavish expenditure of government; and this expenditure was the source of great profit to numerous and powerful bodies of men. Loans and contracts were the bulwarks of the tory system.

When a Russian winter, and the heroism of British soldiers, gave peace at length to Europe, then came the evils of "*transition.*" They are truly styled evils of transition; but they are not transitory evils. The consequences of the war remain—the debt, the taxes, and the influence; for the war corrupted the people, at the same time that it burdened and oppressed them. The old influence of toryism, which had been consolidated during the war, though weakened, was not overthrown by the peace. It has shown all the strength and stamina which could be expected, considering a long possession of power, and the means at its disposal. There is, however, a necessity for change in all human affairs: whatever is, carries in its bosom the seeds of a

new order of things, destined to succeed, and to flourish also in its season. Toryism has had its long day of triumph: it lived in the din of battle; and its glory and exaltation was in the bustle of preparation for contest by sea and land —in the mystical numbers of the financier, and subsidies to foreign powers.

Peace, which has put an end to these things, will also, at no distant day, destroy toryism in England. This has been felt: hence the anxiety to keep up somewhat of that system in peace which the war had established: hence the struggle to continue taxes, of which the peace had doubled the pressure, and the real amount, at the same time that it had reduced to less than half the people's ability to pay. An excessive apprehension lest the influence of Ministers should be diminished, combined with much ignorance in high quarters of the actual state of the nation, led to these unavailing struggles. The taxes have been reduced, and will be further lowered; for they cannot be paid without ruin to the capital and industry of the country.

In the new difficulties in which the tories have been placed—pressed on one side by the consequences of peace, on the other by those of the war, they have sometimes had recourse to mea-

sures altogether unworthy and unjustifiable. In their terror of a whig administration, which could not alter the constitution, nor change the property of the country, they seem, occasionally, to overlook the real dangers which impend over these islands. In their abuse of whigism, they do not disdain to fall in with the vulgar slang of the radicals; and can condescend, for this purpose, even to the lowest and vilest associations, and hardly shrink from the touch of impiety, or feel abashed at the bold and confident assertions of hardy and plausible ignorance and presumption. When we speak of the radicals, we mean the leaders of the party, who delude the people. These are purchaseable persons, and they will be easily induced to abuse the whig more vehemently than the tory. The radical leader is naturally more hostile to the former. A whig administration would put an end to his trade and influence. He is a reptile which has been generated in the slime of toryism, and requires the heat of court influence, and the foulness of much corruption, to give him strength and activity.

Nothing is more natural than a hatred of moderate measures and temperate means. The crowd are ever impatient to destroy; and the vulgar of high rank are ready at all times to risk

the overthrow of the state, rather than surrender the profits and abuses of the system. The cordiality which sometimes mingles in deadly strife: the mysterious regard which we have for those who are opposed to us in open and irreconcilable hostility; and the disgust with which we turn away from those who are but partially, and with various modifications, of our party, will explain the occasional alliance, for specific objects, of the radicals and tories; the friendship of Mr. Peel and Father Hayes, and many other, apparently, such strange anomalies. We have seen the man shake hands with his foe, with a momentary feeling of strong and real kindness towards him, whose life he was the next instant to seek, at the peril of his own, while he turned away, with unfeigned aversion and dislike, from the friend who would have prevented the contest, but could not act the partizan.

The strength of toryism lay in the war — not merely in the immense influence which great movements and expenditure threw into the hands of the party in power; but also in the question of the war itself. The war was popular in England, and amongst all classes of the people. The old enmity to the French nation, and the horror of French impiety and cruelty, gave popularity to the contest. All those who approved

of the war, from whatever motive, joined the ranks of the tories. Hence this political party, finding itself suddenly, and in an extraordinary manner, at the head of a great force of popular feeling, and discovering its strength as it went along, was led by degrees to adopt measures of surprising boldness; and these measures were crowned ultimately with still more surprising success. The whigs lost ground in proportion as the war became popular and expensive, and while yet the pressure of taxation was not felt. Time and possession also consolidated the power of their opponents.

Peace will bring back the natural whigs, if we may use the phrase: those who were tories upon the question of the war only will return to the standards, which they ought never to have deserted. Or possibly, the bugbear of French democracy, which gave us the war and hundreds of millions of debt, may be succeeded by the bugbear of radicalism, which may give us a continuance of tory administration and, finally, revolution. Toryism produces radicalism as its opposite extreme, as the corruptions of Christianity produce infidelity. Radicalism, also, is apt to produce toryism in weak and irritable minds, driven by the vulgar violence of the crowd, and a just abhorrence of mob govern-

ment, into a love for the more refined and far more tolerable despotism of absolute power. But we are by no means driven to choose, between the despotism of absolute power, and the despotism of the mob. England owes her greatness to the manly minds which found a firm and happy position between these extremes. That position was whigism.

We have nothing to do here with the personal qualities, good or evil, of individual whigs or tories. We know how much these influence, sometimes happily, and sometimes unfortunately, the most important questions of state policy: our business is with the principle only. It has sometimes happened, that tory ministers have conducted public affairs almost upon whig principles; as men sometimes seek to atone, in the use they make of power, for the questionable means by which it has been acquired. This, too, has more frequently occurred, since sound principles of policy and government have begun to be now generally understood. But it never fails to happen, that whatever may be the motive inclining a tory minister to whig politics, in practice he will find his measures and intentions counteracted and defeated, perhaps in the most important juncture, by the ruling principle of

the administration to which he belongs. This will ever prevail.

It is the nature of whigism to preserve the spirit of the constitution. Toryism would preserve its form. This we take to be the leading distinction. We are far from asserting that all, whom accident or inclination may have enrolled upon the one side, are friends to the constitution in its spirit and purity, or that those, whom circumstances may have placed upon the other, are invariably to be found indifferent to all but form. We are aware that this is not the case; but it is impossible to follow out every variety and shading of the picture, or to sketch every minute and insignificant object: we must content ourselves with the general character of the piece, and the broad colour which forms the ground of the whole.

We can pardon the radical leaders for entertaining a more kindly regard towards the tories than the whigs. It is natural: the tories are less in their way, and, in fact, are regarded as promoting the great object of the revolutionists. But we cannot pardon the tories for the mutuality of the sentiment. It does not become them to exhibit a more bitter enmity towards the

whigs, an old and acknowledged party in the constitution, than towards those whose object it may be to subvert it. The burden of the tory impeachment against the whigs is, that their purposes are purely selfish: that their only objects are place and power. The tory press fills the country, from day to day, with the pernicious doctrine, that there is no public principle amongst public men; and appears almost willing to place its own patrons upon this low and humiliating ground, provided it might succeed in bringing down the whigs to the same degraded level. The public are entertained with common places in verse and prose, with wit, and humour, and sarcasm, to prove the silliness and foolishness of thinking that any man, or any party, should contend for the triumph of a principle merely, or for the establishment of an order of things having the public good for its object solely, and without reference to personal profit. This is the very point, also, the revolutionists are seeking to establish; and, once established, revolution is inevitable. But without the aid of the tories, they could not succeed in this their main object; for they have not, themselves, sufficient weight in the country to carry the public mind with them.

The tories have succeeded, to a very great extent, in impressing the public mind with a per-

suasion that there is little honesty amongst public men, and very little good to be expected from any change of this nature. The fable of the flies has been the text-book from which, in effect, they have preached to the people: — suffer one satiated swarm: they are more tolerable, and are, in no respect, worse than those who might succeed them. Where all are alike, the bloated vermin must be preferred to the starved. It is one of the worst signs of the times, that this doctrine prevails to a considerable extent, and has become almost popular. By the aid of such doctrines, the tories may succeed in keeping the whigs out of place, and keeping themselves in power; but they are undermining the throne and the constitution. In a short time will come those who, admitting the truth of the position, that whigs and tories are alike corrupt, will insist that there be an end of corruption—that the public wounds be at length healed, and the vermin that made them fester be swept away and destroyed; —whether those who waited impatiently to seize upon the mangled sufferer, or those who already feasted upon his sores.

To such an extent has this scoffing at public principle been carried, that, in order to give it more point and effect, the press has lately descended into the mire of private scandal, and is

busily employed, groping in the filth of individual vices and weaknesses for the loathsome materials, with which it is to construct a new edifice of national shame and disgrace. Horrible as this design is, it has been boldly conceived and daringly executed: we walk amidst the wreck of public and private character: the hidden vices of this person, and the concealed weaknesses of that, meet us at every step. Whatever was hitherto sacred amongst men: what we would have turned aside and refused to see, as unfit for our inspection, or have hardly glanced at, as something calling for our compassion, perhaps, more than censure: — these things now stare at us from every side, and are pushed in our faces, turn which way we will. The rage of the conflict between whig and tory has rent the veil of humanity, and called the spirits of the dead from their slumber, to an untimely judgment.

All these things are the signs of evil days— they are the sure prognostics of an approaching storm. When public character shall have at length yielded to the blowing of the deadly breath of the slanderer; and the spots of death shall be upon it, the great wind of the wilderness will follow the moanings of the sirocco, and convert our fruitful islands into deserts.

Men in the higher elevations of life, and those, even, who enjoy quiet and comfortable situations, are little aware of what is taking place below and around them. They heed not the immense population which has grown up during the war, — the growth of intelligence, infinitely greater than at any former period of our history, all disciplined into contempt for our leading political parties; taught by the tories to laugh at the professions of the whigs, and accustomed to consider the former as holding power by a tenure altogether independent of public opinion, — one strong enough to enable them not only to set public opinion at defiance, but to laugh to scorn all profession of public principle. While the great men of the nation have been engaged in their petty contests, and the old parties of the state have been carrying on their ancient warfare, every thing in the country has changed its place and position; and they appear hardly sensible that they live in the midst of a new generation, and a new order of things, calling for a widely different system of policy and proceedings than has been hitherto acted upon. As far as our statesmen have, at all, adapted their measures to the state of society in which they live, they have rather been dragged along by the spirit of the age, and at a great distance behind it, than have gone with it.

There was a time when our statesmen might have been ignorant with impunity, both of the state of the country and of general principles of government; but those times are past: there is now much more information upon these points in the middle classes of society, than persons in high places are willing to allow. The errors and mistakes of men in power are soon perceived, and greatly promote the general merriment which is excited, throughout our educated population, by the notorious and acknowledged corruptions of the system. There is no longer any mystery in state affairs to call for the ignorant reverence of the people. State-craft, like priest-craft, is become an object of derision. Men can now understand all that God has revealed upon the one subject, and all that human experience has established upon the other, without surrendering their judgments to any class of pretenders. The task of the statesman, henceforward, will be but to act upon known and proved principles; that of the minister of the gospel, to teach the simple truths which have been made known and bring their influence home to the heart.

We agree with Mr. Canning, that the political purity attributed to our ancestors was illustrated in rather a bold figure, when it was said

that they would start from their tombs at the mention of such things as are now alluded to as matter of course. We fear that, at no period of our history, were these things so rare or extraordinary, as to rouse the dead from their repose, or even greatly to disturb the living. But if Mr. Canning would build upon this any defence of such practices, we think he would be greatly in error. We will give him up the argument from usage and from history, and admit the antiquity of corruption; but we contend that this is no argument in its favour. We are not now to legislate for dead men. Mr. Canning might as well recommend the worship of Jupiter or Woden, upon the ground of antiquity. The corruptions of ancient times cannot be sustained by such arguments as these. The present generation must be governed upon other principles. We agree further with Mr. Canning, that the reformers, generally, are not more pure, or better principled, than those who resist reform. Though there was much coarseness in the joke upon the "revered and ruptured Ogden," yet we are sure that many of those who cry loudest against the corruptions of our present system, are very fit subjects of scorn and derision: their patriotism is their poverty, and their purity is the want of a bribe. For such men we have as much contempt as

Mr. Canning. But the mistake is in thinking that there need be no reform, because many, who are loudest in calling for it, are persons deserving no attention. These persons, of themselves, are of no weight: they are the very froth upon the wave; but they serve to indicate the rapidity and direction of the current. We may safely despise individuals; but large masses of men are not to be scorned with impunity.

We are told that the system has worked well, and that, therefore, there need be no change. That, imperfect and objectionable as it is in theory, in practice it has been found efficient for every purpose of national and individual prosperity. It is true that these nations have attained to a very high degree of prosperity and power: that there are amongst us much individual happiness, and great national resources; and that all this has increased amazingly under the present system; and we believe it has been a very general persuasion, that because it has increased under the system, it has increased because of it. This we believe to be a mistake. The sources of our prosperity were in the skill and industry of our people, with which the system had nothing to do. They were, in the great amount of capital accumulated in past ages;—in

the steam-engine, in the spinning machine, in our coal and iron mines and manufactures, and in the immense and accumulated resources of our wealth and ingenuity. But they were chiefly to be found in the personal liberty and security established at the Revolution.

Our political liberty might have been impaired; but our personal security, and the safety of property, continued untouched, under the guardianship of a free press and the habeas corpus. If our political liberty has been impaired, we owe it to the system. If person and property be secure, we are indebted for it to past times and to other systems. In fact, the system did not prevent the growth of our prosperity, or not in a considerable degree. This is the best can be said of it. As far as the war made part of the system, the impulse which it gave to our prosperity, and the value of the encouragement derived from it to every branch of national industry and employment, are not yet fully understood or appreciated. But we cannot long be in the dark upon these points. We have begun to learn something of their character in the evils of "transition;" and that character will be more fully revealed in the sequel.

Though it were true, however, that the system worked well, the conclusion would not, therefore, be a just one, that there should be, on that account, no change. It is also necessary that the government be in harmony with the prevailing opinions of the people. It is not enough that the government be a good one; it must be suited to the genius and character of the nation, and must follow the changes of the popular mind. The sage of Athens gave to that people not the best constitution, but the best they could bear. So when we find the system of ministers defended, not upon the ground of its abstract perfection, nor yet because of its accordance with popular prejudice: when we find it opposed alike to theory and to public opinion; we have great reason to apprehend that some disastrous crisis is not far remote. And this impression is, in fact, deep and strong upon the public mind. The people, who never reason accurately, and are seldom able to follow out their own conceptions through any connected chain of argument or illustration, arrive, however, without this, at very correct conclusions. They feel and understand the signs of the times, without being able to reason about them. And there cannot be a more accurate indication of what is about to take place, than the popular impression

upon the subject. It is not the judgment of any man, or set of men, who might be deceived; it is the judgment of a whole nation, upon a subject of the deepest interest, and upon which the national mind must have been long and anxiously engaged. It is the result of an infinite multitude of observations, which no individual labour could accumulate, and no industry combine, — and it is infallible.

The impression that great changes are at hand, springs out of the feeling that there is something wrong in the constitution of things, for which no remedy is to be found in the whole range of ordinary resources. It is felt that the machine is all wrong, and that it cannot right itself; and the people make up their minds to look on quietly, until it go to pieces of its own working,— all but the desperate spirits who prepare to profit of the ruin. This is almost universally the feeling of the middle class in England: it is still more generally the popular persuasion in Ireland. All classes in that country, those who rejoice at the prospect, and those who are in despair, feel the rapid motion which carries them onward to changes of a decided character, be they what they may.

This persuation, of itself, has a tendency to accelerate the crisis which is thought to be approaching. That which is supposed to be inevitable will hardly be opposed; and the change comes at length, like the plague upon a Mahomedan population, seizing and destroying a devoted and unresisting people.

The whigs have never been considerable for their numbers in Ireland. In rank and talent they have been powerful; but the majority of the gentry have been in the tory interest. Whig and tory, however, are not exactly, in Ireland, what they are in Great Britain. In both countries they designate the popular party, and the party opposed to popular administration. But a tory government in Ireland will hardly get credit for being true to its principle, if it be not also anti-catholic and orange; if not in profession, at least in feeling. For this purpose it must be almost anti-constitutional—a government of *strong measures;* slow to consider the grievances of the people, but prompt to take the field against them: a government upon the principle of Sangrado,—hot water and blood-letting. Such a government requires little skill and few resources. When the many-headed patient is at the height of fever, it is only to let blood copiously, and

let him go on again till another fullness of blood requires again the use of the state lancet.

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This system, it must be confessed, has answered its purpose hitherto; but the time is at hand when it will answer no longer. The patient, upon whom these experiments in quackery have been tried, has grown amazingly in strength and vigour, notwithstanding all the blood he has lost; and he is fully aware of his increased power, and will use it the first opportunity, with little regard or compassion for the friends and physicians who have had the care of him. It is a great mistake to apply the same system of management towards one or two millions of people, and towards six or seven.

The changes of the political system in England have ever led to the most disastrous results in the sister island. We should hope that the experience of past times will not be lost upon the people of the latter country. There is no longer in Great Britain any hostility or ill-will towards the "mere Irish." On the contrary, there is much good and kind feeling; and whatever changes take place in that country, they can hardly lead to any evil results in the other, provided there be not gross mismanagement on

the part of the people. The gentry of Ireland should consider, too, that in the event of much political agitation in England, it will be necessary for the prevailing powers in that country to secure, by the most decisive measures, the good will of the great majority of the people of Ireland.

THE GENTRY.

THE aspect of Ireland is that of decay and renovation; improvement in some respects, in others, decline. Hardly any other nation has been the subject of such a continued succession of rapid changes. It is more than probable that the gentry of the old Milesian race were worn out and degenerate, about the time of the English invasion. Indeed their appeals to the Pope, when suffering under the woes of that invasion, which his *Holiness* contrived and promoted, exhibit them in no respectable point of view. We have not quite so much contempt for them, perhaps, as for the Britons, in their wailings on account of the Scottish invasion; but we cannot regard a people with respect who are unable to defend their own country from a few foreign invaders. We may be able to trace the causes of degeneracy: these may excite our compassion; but they will hardly remove our contempt.

It seems as if the lower classes of the people were those only, which preserve their vigour perpetually unimpaired. The higher orders of nations, from the chieftain to the prince, from the magistrate to the monarch, have their rise and fall. The families of the rich, all over the globe, have their periods of advancement and decline. The populace, like the great ocean, supplies the higher regions of the universe with all their beauty and splendour; but those clouds which contribute so much to the comfort and glory of creation remain only for a short time; when they are resolved again into their primitive elements, and in their descent contribute, also, to the harmony and advantage of the universe. This mysterious law of our species seems almost universal. At the period of the French revolution the old families of the noblesse were nearly worn out; and this was one of the chief causes of the revolution. It was necessary, that they should descend again to the level of the populace, from whence they were raised, or be scattered by the violence of the moral storm, which their elevation and unfitness were preparing. The case was similar in Spain, at the time of the French invasion.

It is a well-founded complaint, that the new constitution for Spain is too democratic for per-

manency. But this is an evil which time will cure. At present, moderation would not answer. There are no materials for such a government as we would desire to see. There can be no medium in that country between extreme democracy and despotism. The French revolution mingled all the elements of society; and while it precipitated every thing that was exalted, it raised up from the lowest depths the materials of a new order of things. The revolution of Spain was effected with less suffering, through the agency of a foreign invasion. But this country required a process of regeneration as complete and pervading. Every thing needed to be renewed.

It is a question of deep interest, how far, in our own country, the upper classes may have been corrupted by time and prosperity; and whether we are really in danger of any of those moral visitations which come, in their season, as of course, and which can be as little prevented or controuled by human agency, as we can stay with our hands the blowing of the winds of heaven. In England, the free spirit of the constitution, which opened the road to dignity and power, and the highest offices of the state to talent and successful enterprize, served not only to give permanency to the established order of

things; but tended greatly, by the wholesome circulation it occasioned, to preserve the leading families from decline. Nevertheless, the effects of the moral law we have adverted to have become visible in England also, in proportion as the increased power and influence acquired by government, chiefly by means of the expenditure and prosecution of the war, have served to raise and fix the power of the state more independently than formerly of the mass of the people, and to place it more openly and securely in certain known hands. The depositaries of power never fail to be corrupted by too long and safe a possession; and when this takes place, at the same time that the lower and middle classes of the people are every day becoming more enlightened and better instructed: when the machinery of governments is perfectly understood, even by the lowest of the people; and when the movements of this great machine, and the agency by which it is moved, have become matters of perfect notoriety, there is room to apprehend, that changes of importance are not remote.

We meet, every where in Ireland, with ruined and forsaken mansions: some ancient, or whose delapidation might date twenty or thirty years since: others of more recent destiny; and many

unfinished; exhibiting the impatience of that evil fortune which seems to precipitate every thing in that country to some crisis of good or evil. We see where the labours of the builders were arrested, and the unfinished wall left to crumble to dust and rubbish, and the scaffolding to rot upon the ground.

From the year 1782, to the union, Ireland abounded with families of active and prosperous gentry. It is surprising what a great proportion of these have been ruined, or become extinct or expatriated. In very extensive districts, you are told where families once dwelt, who gave employment and protection to the people, and spread industry and activity around them. If you enquire the history of these, you will be surprised to find how much the ordinary working of vice and imprudence has been aided by a sort of evil destiny, in bringing about the destruction and degradation of numerous families of rank. The corruption which prevailed in the Irish system of government was partly the cause of this. Men relied less upon their own exertions, than upon influence. They might afford to spend their patrimony improvidently, provided they could be corrupt enough. They might barter the interests, and despise the opinions of their countrymen with safety and with

profit, if they could obtain the countenance of the state.

In England, the unbroken state of the public, and the greater wealth of the people, preserved the nation from this degradation. Some such, however, has occurred in the places, pensions, employments, and high prices of the war; and in their devotion to the government and system, whence all these things flowed. The Irish gentry forgot their duties to their country and families; and now, when they had partly recovered from the dreams of the war and corruption, they have been treated with little consideration by those they served so faithfully. The ejaculations of Wolsey, in his dying agony, might suit the ruined gentry of Ireland, towards the system and the party they so steadfastly supported.

While the system of the establishment is not to be changed or touched, and its supposed interests meet the utmost care and attention in the highest quarters; the only sympathy which the ruined gentry experience, is to be told, that the land must pass into other hands which will serve the purposes of the public interest as well; and the court of Chancery, will speedily be seen accomplishing this transfer. We are

aware of the delinquencies of the Irish gentry; but we have more concern for their fate; nor can we fall in with the almost general notion, that this expected transfer is a matter of such perfect indifference, if not of public advantage.

There is an influence and power connected with long possession, which no new proprietor of land could speedily obtain. These are necessary for the peace and safety of the country. Long possession gives a title, which deeds and conveyances and acts of Parliaments, in vain, attempt to confer. The people do not understand these things, nor value them; but they can understand the tradition of their fathers, and appreciate the title, which has descended with it, to their times. Property in land differs from other property in popular estimation; neither possession nor purchase giving a perfect title. This can only be conferred by time. It is of the greatest importance that the possessors of the land should have what the people may consider to be a perfect title: this ensures peace in the country. And it is the want of such a title that has so frequently exposed the foundations of society to be shaken and disturbed in Ireland. The natural influence of landed property is the best security of the state.

This influence has been much broken down and impaired, by various disasters and calamities, in Ireland. The absentee could acquire but little of it; for it is in its nature personal. The absentee is generally a stranger to the people: they are unacquainted with the individual and with his family: he holds his lands by means of his parchments only; and these, in stormy times, are never ties to be depended on. In such times, the people would profess their ignorance of the party, and reject his claim. It is too much, in a nation of absentee proprietors and ruined gentry, to contemplate, with complacency, a further extension of the great malady of Ireland—a new class of landowners, before those we consign to ruin had yet grown old. We should regret the influence, thus only beginning to be acquired, so speedily lost; and, perhaps, we might be permitted to lament the number of innocent and helpless relatives and friends, who are ever devoted to destruction, when the tide of ruin passes over the devoted head of a family.

But these things must take place when the period of change is accomplished. Nothing is more apparent than that there has been, from the beginning of time, a constant circulation of

property. And we repeat, that we believe this has ever been occasioned by the corruption and wearing out, whether by fate or accident, of the higher classes of society. And, possibly, the whole property of the earth and its enjoyments pass, in the revolution of ages, through the entire circle of the families of mankind. As the water upon the surface of the ocean, when it has been for a while in contact with the atmosphere, is precipitated; and the cold and dark masses, from the depths below, ascend in their order, to be warmed and illuminated by the sun-beam, —destined in their turn to go down again to the abyss, from whence they have risen.

Those changes may be necessary, or unavoidable; but, when they occur, they are ever attended with great calamities, and much suffering. The corruption and decay of the Roman gentry brought on despotism, and all the agonies which that empire endured for ages. The spirit of Christianity, where it exists, is the sole preservation of empires. It prevents the utter corruption of the people. In France, previous to the Revolution, there was little of the spirit of Christianity. The people were divided between superstition and infidelity. The noblesse were either unbelievers or drivellers. The latter were a class of men who united a profound

veneration for the mysteries and religion of Rome, with an unreserved indulgence in every species of profligacy. Men, equally devout and immoral — the slaves of superstition, and of the foulest sensualities — dividing their time between their mistresser and their confessors, — the mass and the brothel.

The "Esprit fort" was not a purer character than this; but, perhaps, more active. From Voltaire to Diderot, all in this class was equally unsound. The Pucelle and the Religieuse give us the moral character of the philosophers. In Spain, the nobility mouldered away under the double despotism of church and state: the whole frame-work of society had crumbled into dust, long before the French invasion. There was less infidelity in Spain, and, perhaps, less Christianity also. The religion of this people was a more aggravated superstition; and their habits were, perhaps, also less moral. The nobility were, in general, unbelievers, but without activity or talent.

The late unfortunate attempts in Italy show the gentry of that country in a very unfavourable point of view. From the Prince downwards, perjury, and falsehood, and cowardice appear to pervade all classes, except, perhaps,

the lowest. There appears to be little distinction between the banditti round the throne and the banditti upon the mountains. Italy is languishing for those changes, which the order of nature, amongst nations, makes now necessary for her. Those measures which prevent the progress of the disease, and the accomplishment of the cure, must bring on an unnatural state of things, and can only be successful for a short period. Ultimately, she will be regenerated: her gentry will be cast out; and her strength will be renewed, by the new blood of the populace.

In countries, as in England, where the alienation of landed property is almost unrestricted, the decay of the landed interest is less rapid than in others, if circumstances be equal: where there is a free circulation of property, more prudence and vigour are required for the preservation of it. And where families have sunk into hopeless imbecility or vice, they are replaced without effort or violence: others take their places. And though there may be a waste of influence and authority, that is perhaps unavoidable; and for the most part will be found to have occurred, before the ruined family had lost their estates. Vice and weakness soon lose this precious portion of their inheritances.

They part with them, before yet they convey their lands.

The peculiar case of Ireland is, that the gentry, without ever having acquired much of that influence or authority with the people which belonged to their situations, have begun to exhibit, it is said, some of those marks of decay which give notice of an unsound state of society. With a ruined gentry, and a hostile people, it would be impossible to preserve Ireland: she would be to be conquered over again. But the conquest of six millions of people is another thing from the conquest of half a million.

If the gentry of Ireland are in the state in which they are represented, and to some extent, we know that the representation is a true one, nothing but vigorous measures will save the country. English connection, like the connection which Austria has with Naples, may restrain the violence of the people; but will not prevent the progress of events. Remedies must be found for the evils of the union, and the evils of taxation, and the evils of a state sect and establishment. These comprise all the evils of Ireland; her poverty, barbarism and despair. If we are in a state of "transition" as well in respect to

the property of the soil, and the families of our gentry, as in relation to a state of war and peace, all this extraordinary mutation must be full of peril.

A government of influence is more apt to corrupt the gentry, than any other kind of government. Despotic power corrupts by degrading; which is a very rapid mode of corruption: influence is more slow, but perhaps more powerful. In a land of impoverished gentry, nothing can withstand the corruption of influence; but though in such a country as Great Britain and Ireland, the power of influence may succeed in corrupting the gentry, or at least the higher classes of them to a great extent, the people will go on to increase in numbers, intelligence and power; and it may be possible for the government and the gentry to go on blindly together, in possession of all the power and profit of the state, until they touch, (without knowing it,) the very brink of ruin; and the hand of destiny may have written their fate upon the wall, while yet they are indulging in the banquet.

There was in the modern History of Ireland, one short and golden period of energy and virtue in the gentry; — the period of the volunteers. The momentary weakness of the government, and the growing strength of the nation,

gave this passing triumph. Events quickly put an end to that gentlemanly insurrection. But the rich harvest which was reaped for their country from the transactions of that period, might have taught the gentry of Ireland, in the words of Grattan, that the first duty of a man was to "stand by his country;" and that the second duty of a man, and the third duty of a man, was "to stand by his country."

From the period of the volunteers to the Union, there was a rapid increase of the influence of government in Ireland. The Union augmented it still further, for it broke and scattered the landed interest. The evils of "transition" came to complete their ruin. In the public of Great Britain, there is no compassion for them: in the public of Ireland, no sympathy: in the government of either island, hardly any regard. If the gentry of Ireland have deserved this, we cannot mistake these "signs of the times."

The corruption and decay of the upper classes of society, the fall of old families and rise of new ones, which have taken place unceasingly since the creation, are subjects of curious speculation. Connected with these is the interesting subject of the rise and fall of nations, and the ultimate improvement and civilization of man-

kind. The human race is now old enough to be wise and civilized, if the natural progress of human nature were towards civilization and wisdom. Civilization is a slow and difficult acquisition, retained by continual effort, and lost easily and speedily. What a train of fortunate circumstances and occurrences are necessary to raise up a nation to power, prosperity, and happiness! Let an evil destiny wave but a chain of calamities for a few centuries, and cast it round a people, and how speedily do you see them sink into a nation of slaves and cowards, like Italy; and lately, (we hope we may say *lately*,) Greece! Nothing but the civilization of the nations around them preserved these people from sinking into a savage state, forgetful of the glories of their past history, and all the arts, acquirements, and renown of their ancestors; — like the wandering savages of America, who gaze in astonishment at the structures raised by the fathers of their race, and can give no account of the art or skill by which they were erected. Asia is full of monuments of a civilization that is past and gone. Her deserts abound with temples and columns, which speak of highly-cultivated mind, and taste, and genius, and wealth, and prosperity, that are no more. The starved Arab, the slave, and the robber, are now the only

inhabitants of regions once swarming with a rich and cultivated population.

Many nations have gone back into utter barbarism; but no nation, of its own effort, has ever risen to civilization. The Greeks imported their arts and knowledge from Asia and Egypt. The Romans were instructed by the Greeks; and we derive our civilization from the Romans. The common hypothesis, that man has every where advanced gradually, from the savage to the civilized state, seems to us to be contrary to all experience. We think we are warranted by all history, and the state of the world as it is now before us, in saying, that if man were originally savage, he never could have made one step in advance towards civilization. Mr. Pritchard* informs us, that the first man was black, and had the thick lips and flat nose of the Negro; and that civilization made his descendants white and handsome. We know that civilization improves the face and figure, and possibly the complexion. Civilization surrounds us with comforts and enjoyments, composes the passions, and cultivates our best affections. Mind operates strongly upon matter, when, in connexion with it. In those various ways we can account for those improvements of the face and figure which follow

* See Pritchard on Man.

civilization. The fierce passions, the want, and exposure of savage life, operate, as they do also in the lower classes in our country, unfavourably upon the figure and countenance. Anxiety, care, and vice disfigure the features, and give them an expression that seems to descend to the children of the unhappy and the guilty. Even vulgarity appears to be frequently an inheritance. But insufficient food, and clothing, and shelter, every where diminish the strength, and size, and beauty of the species. The savage is always an ugly being, the civilized man is perfect in beauty.

So far we agree with Mr. Pritchard; but he has not proved, we think, that Adam was a black man, and our white colour but an accidental variety: still less has he shown that the first man was a savage. We are persuaded it would be easier to produce a white species from a black one, than civilized from savage life. The natural tendency of human nature — of all nations and families, is not to improve, but to degenerate. Survey, for an instant, the nations which have risen and fallen upon the globe, and the families which have flourished, and perished, and are declining in our own country, and you will be convinced of this. To counteract this natural tendency in any degree, requires the frequent recurrence of

powerful and fortunate circumstances. Without this, families soon disappear, and nations sink into decay or barbarism.

Nevertheless, it is certain, that the human race has gone on improving from the first, even down to our time—not regularly or progressively, but with frequent lapses—falling back continually, and rescued from total ruin and depravity only by some special interposition of Providence; then advancing vigorously for a season, recovering the ground that was lost, and gaining much more. We count confidently, in our age, that the press has secured the safety of the species, and given us a hold upon civilization which no disaster can loosen. Those will add the Christian religion, also, who value it as an important means of improvement. We are of this opinion. We think the press and pure religion will yet civilize the whole globe, and recal the nations of Africa and America, and even the lost savages of New South Wales, to that civilization which, we doubt not, they once enjoyed.

But though nations may be snatched from ruin, families will be still liable to decay and corruption; and this will bring on those alterations in the internal government of states which the

changeful nature of the world we live in incessantly requires. The relations of things in our world are perpetually shifting, and becoming unfit and ill adapted to each other. This requires frequent adjustment. When institutions are no longer suited to the times, they must be changed. When the upper classes are worn out, and are no longer fit for their situations, they must be replaced by a more efficient gentry. Without this, nations crumble into ruin, as in Turkey, Italy, &c.; or there is revolution, as in France. In the present stage of European civilization, the latter is the more likely process.

SUBSCRIPTIONS IN GREAT BRITAIN FOR THE RELIEF OF IRISH DISTRESS.

We cannot refuse ourselves the pleasure of saying a word upon this head. We can hardly regret the distress which has called forth so much kindness and sympathy. It was not so much the amount of the relief, though that was very considerable, and very timely, as the interest and good feeling it evinced. Every where throughout England and Scotland meetings were held, committees formed, and subscriptions collected for the relief of "Irish Papists." It was the voice of the nation, echoed from the throne to the cottage, and proclaiming that we had arrived at a new era in the history of these nations. All the sufferings of Ireland—the abuses and oppressions of her government—the tyranny of her gentry, and the exactions of her clergy, have at all times proceeded, chiefly, from the contempt and hostility towards the country and the people which

existed in the public mind of England. The enormities which were practised in Ireland found that countenance and protection in the other country which favoured their growth and continuance. "Irish Papists" and "Irish enemies" were convertible terms, and designated a class of persons who could not be used too badly; upon whom every outrage that was perpetrated lost its character of wickedness, in the supposed depravity of its object; and of whom no evil could be imagined, or tale of horror invented, too aggravated for belief.

The interest which has been evinced by the British nation for the people of Ireland, has thrown around them a protection which they have never yet enjoyed. It has raised the moral influence of the people, and given them a new consequence in the eyes of those who have ever been too much disposed to consider them as born, only, for their use and profit. The British nation has done itself great honour. It intended only a passing act of kindness, but it has effected a permanent and important good. If our evil deeds have consequences beyond our calculation, so, fortunately, have good actions also. The sympathy which the late distress in Ireland excited in Great Britain, by directing the attention of the people of the latter country to Irish

affairs, and making them acquainted with the causes of the poverty, ignorance, and outrage which prevail at the other side of the channel, has opened a way for their removal. Strongly discountenanced by the public mind of England, they cannot long continue.

The prejudice which obtained in Ireland against England and Englishmen, was much less than that which prevailed in the latter country and people against Ireland and Irishmen. The moral effects of the subscription were not less considerable and salutary in Ireland: it has removed prejudice, and almost atoned for the neglect and injuries of ages. We think we may congratulate both countries upon this approximation. It requires only that a wise government should turn it to good account. The kind feeling which prevailed so generally throughout England upon Irish affairs, was no where more strikingly exhibited than in the committee in London. The persons composing that committee, and who were in constant and daily attendance for many months, were not mere men of fashion, or individuals whose time was of little value or importance: they were persons whose time was much more precious than money; and whose attention to the difficult trust they had undertaken was above all price, as it was

above all praise. They have well deserved, not the gratitude of Ireland only,—that they possess, but the gratitude of Great Britain. Never was a task more faithfully performed, or one, originating in private benevolence, likely to be attended with more lasting, general, and national results.

The committee in concluding their labours, have also, in our opinion, entitled themselves to the thanks of both countries, for such a wise appropriation of their surplus fund as gives a well-grounded hope of a permanent and enduring good. They have appropriated the chief part of their surplus, amounting to 40,000*l.*, to form a fund for the encouragement of manufacture (chiefly the linen manufacture) in the south of Ireland. We give the details of their plan, and their concluding addresses, to the peasantry, in our appendix. We think these last of value, for the kind feeling and good sense which breathe throughout them. On this ground, indeed, we think them invaluable. The feeling which dictated them, cannot be mistaken. And it is cheering to us, that after so long and laborious an investigation of the causes and effects of Irish wretchedness, the sympathy of the committee seemed to increase to the last, and to have made, at length, this permanent re-

cord of its being — not a specimen of fine composition — not the labour of the head; but the far more precious effusion of the heart.

The committee has been succeeded by a Board of Trustees for the management of the fund for "the Encouragement of Industry in the South of Ireland," and by a Ladies' Committee for the "Improvement of the Condition of the Female Peasantry of Ireland."

In conclusion — It is, we should hope, unnecessary to state our objects in these rapid and desultory sketches of Ireland and Irish affairs. We have hurried them to the press; for the fame of an author was less in our estimation, than the good which we, and others of better judgment, thought the present conjuncture afforded the opportunity of effecting for our country. Our main purpose was to make the people of Ireland known to their countrymen of Great Britain. To the latter, the history of the neighbouring island was already known in part — somewhat of the calamities of past times, and the anomalies of the present — but imperfectly. We could not refer them to the Irish historian. There is no historian of Ireland that deserves the name; not one of sufficient

ability to be respectable and free from prejudice and error, and unshackled by the trammels of party. We would gladly have made our book more methodical and attractive; but we shall be content, if we succeed in calling the attention of the British public to the great interests which are at issue in Ireland, and which concern them so nearly.

We have felt warmly, and we have dealt boldly with those topics, which affect the fate of Ireland. Their consideration cannot be postponed. If we did not treat them honestly it were better, in our opinion, not to have treated them at all. Decisive measures and plain speaking are necessary for Ireland.

We confess we have ever been somewhat of an enthusiast where the great interests of humanity are concerned. We abhor all tyranny, civil and ecclesiastical; but especially ecclesiastical tyranny has our abhorrence.

Of the two churches of Ireland—the protestant is oppressive, but not tyrannous—that of Rome is often tyrannous, but not oppressive.

The question of the church establishment is of the deepest interest: we have dealt openly

and fairly with it. The tythe question should be set at rest — by a commutation; the country asks no more; but if this be too long delayed, by and bye more will be demanded, and more will be done. A commutation would set the question at rest; we do not say for ever, but for many years. We are not of those who think that church establishments promote the interests of religion; — we are sure that rich establishments do not; and we think that they are dangerous to the state: they irritate the people, and invite attack. In France, the throne fell when a corrupt establishment was overthrown — because it had been placed too near it. Governments should rest upon a basis of general principles, independent of creeds, and professions of faith, and forms of worship.

Faithful to the British throne and the constitution, we would guard them from danger, by denouncing those abuses in which it lurks.

Loving, as the greatest of blessings, peace and good order, there is hardly any abuse, in our opinion, which should not be borne, rather than incur the miseries of confusion and the slavery of mob-government. There is no despotism equal to the despotism of the mob and their leaders. Even the vulgar tyranny of the

Orange faction in Ireland, would be more tolerable; but we have no choice—we cannot prefer abuse to confusion: the former leads to the latter inevitably, and in all its horrors.

Above all things we would preserve the connection between the two islands, and make it indissoluble. They are necessary to each other. A connection purchased by ages of suffering, and cemented by the blood of both nations, is too precious to be bartered for any thing. We have no doubt it will yet be a happy connection. We would make it such, by a measure which Mr. Pitt, who effected the Union, did not effect—which the extensive colonizations of James, and the more extensive confiscations of other kings and parliaments, did not advance—which the wars of Cromwell, and the victories of William, failed to achieve. We would make it such, by making the people of England, and the people of Ireland, to know and to love one another. If we have done this, even in a small degree, we have not written in vain, and our task is accomplished.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

EDUCATION. Page 16.

It will be objected, perhaps, that we have estimated too highly the value of education and religion. We have all along admitted, that these, in order to produce their full effect upon the people, must be aided by good government. It was objected to our views (in discussing them with a friend,) that they were too enthusiastic and spiritualized. This, perhaps, may be the case; but we cannot regret our enthusiasm upon this head. Without some warmth, we should hardly hope to lead the public mind into this uninviting, but important path of enquiry. The reading public is, in our age, too much occupied with the flowers, and the spells, and enchantments of literature, to be led away from their favourite pursuits into the homely realities of the world we live in, without something more than an ordinary effort. If our ability were equal to our zeal, we might, perhaps, hope to succeed.

Our spiritualizing will be as harmless as our enthusiasm. Few will be led astray by it. It will, perhaps, be considered to be not in good taste. We shall not be hurt, however, by the smile it may excite; and that is the worst we apprehend. Our spiritualizing cannot, we trust, be mistaken for cant. For this we have as

much abhorrence as we have contempt for the selfishness and baseness which pass in the world for wisdom, and good sense, and manliness. It was suggested, that we seemed to refuse to the Deity the power of working miracles upon the hearts of men. We raise no question as to the power; but it seems to us to be the ordinary course of God's providence to work, what we call miracles, whenever occasion requires, upon matter; and to act upon mind by moral means only. With our limited knowledge and feeble powers, we proceed in the same way. We work upon matter with all the immediate energy and force we can employ: towards mind we are compelled to direct the slow process of persuasion and instruction. The error of our system has been, that it is more perfect as applied to matter than as applied to mind. Statesmen have but slightly and occasionally thought of the education of the people. We see individuals every day employing more skill and attention upon the education of their hounds and horses, than Christian governments have thought it necessary to bestow upon the instruction of the people.

We are bound to notice, upon this subject, the opinions of a work of the first authority. The Edinburgh Review, just published*, in an article upon Ireland, while it exposes with its usual ability the defective and pernicious system of education which has hitherto prevailed in that country, goes on to recommend that the education of the people should be committed wholly to the clergy of the church of Rome. The candid and able writer of this article forgot that the clergy of that church have always had the power, in a very great

* For June, 1822.

degree, to direct and superintend the instruction of the children of their communion. Their power over the people was much more considerable a few years ago than it is at present; and yet now, when their hostility to Bibles, and, in some instances, to any system of education not under their control, has called forth the exercise of their authority, they show its amount to be very considerable. Let it be remembered, that it was under the eye of all this watchful power and authority, that such a system of education as has called forth the reprobation of the reviewer, and of every good and enlightened mind which has directed its attention to this subject, obtained a long and undisturbed dominion in Ireland. That it was in such schools as the reviewer has noticed, and under the influence of such publications as he has enumerated*, that the Carder, and the

* Mr. Wakefield has given (vol. ii. p. 400.) a list of some of the common school and cottage classics of Ireland. It contains, amongst others, the "History of the Seven Champions of Christendom," "History of fair Rosamond and Jane Shore," "Two Prostitutes," "Ovid's Art of Love," "Devil and Doctor Faustus," "Moll Flanders," "Mendoza's new System of Boxing," "History of Donna Rosina, a Spanish Prostitute," &c. &c. Mr. Wakefield's censure has not abated the nuisance. In the debate on Sir John Newport's motion, 22d April, Mr. Spring Rice stated there were 8000 schoolmasters in Ireland: "among these, however, he was sorry to say, there existed much mischief. In some of the schools he knew pernicious books were used. In one instance he had found the *text book* for the boys was the history of a famous robber, the Captain Rock of some fifty years ago." Mr. Grant corroborated Mr. Rice's statements. "The school-masters and the books," he observed, "were of the very worst species."

Thrasher, and the White-boy — the midnight military chief, and the undaunted hero of the gibbet, were formed. The clergy, indeed, are censured, but with gentleness; and, then it is recommended, that the education of the people be committed wholly to their care.

It will not be said that the clergy had not the power to prevent this education of evil: but it has been said that they had not the time necessary for this superintendence. And we, who know their avocations perfectly, should be almost inclined to admit this plea, if we were not witnessing all around us, the surprising vigilance and anxiety which are directed, unceasingly, to the great object of preventing a good education of the poor. The time and care bestowed upon this strange task for a Christian clergy, have shown more leisure than we could have suspected, and much less power. Proselytism is here out of the question. We have in our eye schools, the masters of which are all Roman Catholics, where the Roman Catholic clergy are anxiously invited to inspect and superintend; and some of them, where there is not, nor ever has been, a Bible; and the only ground of hostility that we can discover, is in the circumstance that these schools are not entirely and *altogether*, under the control of the clergy. The board of visitors proposed by the reviewer could do nothing: we have known such plans tried, and they have failed. The priest would be master of the board, as of the school; or he would sacrifice the school at once, rather than divide his power in the least degree; and the board, finding itself a nullity, would speedily dissolve itself.

We do not throw any blame upon the Catholic clergy of Ireland, for the immoral and pernicious system of

teaching which has prevailed in that country," more than upon the clergy of the establishment. These also neglected their duty in this matter. The question is, now that the evil is ascertained, what is to be done? We agree with the reviewer, that it would be wise at once to give up the charter-school system. It is time to get rid of this old abuse. If we were to try our hand at a plan of general education, we should propose, that a board be established in Dublin, consisting of persons of all persuasions, laity and clergy *, with sufficient funds to build school-houses, where necessary; and to establish a system of inspection and payment of school-masters, somewhat upon the plan of the Hibernian Society. Some of the children, as in the Scotch system of parochial schools, to receive gratuitous instruction; and others to pay according to their means: this to be settled by local committees. The books to be read in the schools to be such as could not fairly be objected to; and upon the important point of the Scripture, we would give the board a discretion to act, in every case, as they might think expedient. Parents should be left at liberty to send their children, or not, to these schools, as they may think proper. We would hold out the inducement of good teaching; and occasionally premiums for good attendance, in books, articles of clothing, money, &c. &c.; these would be necessary in the commencement, and for some time, and would be money well bestowed. The masters of Roman Catholic schools should be Roman Catholics. All attempts at proselytism should be made impossible; and all attempts to injure the schools by misrepresentation, should be made punishable as a mis-

* Two-thirds laity — Roman Catholics and Protestants — one-third clergy, divided in like m

demeanour. The Kildare Street Society might continue their useful labours, in instructing school-masters, and printing school-books; or the board we have projected might take into their own hands this important branch of national education.

It was not our purpose to project any thing; but we were urged upon this head: and now we might say that we have some confidence in our plan; that if well-worked, it would make way through all the difficulties with which this great subject is surrounded in Ireland, and at length achieve the salvation of that country.

We thought ourselves called upon to notice what we conceived to be an error, upon a point of much importance, in a work of such high authority as the Edinburgh Review. As the affairs of Ireland have long engaged the attention of that journal, and as we conceive our country to be deeply indebted to the zeal and ability with which her interests and her grievances have been brought before the public, it became the more necessary to be explicit upon this point. We shall add a word upon Mr. Wakefield's work, which is referred to, in the article before us, as of the highest authority upon Irish affairs. Mr. Wakefield deserves the praise of much industry, and the greater praise of good intentions. He felt interested for the country which was the subject of his labours; and, like many other generous Englishmen, on turning his eye upon this new scene, he saw every where the great and glaring grievance of the land — the ascendancy system, in all its foulness and deformity — and he could see nothing else. The great outline and leading features of the country he traced with sufficient accuracy; but the detail was not filled up; and the want

of this minutiæ and detail has the effect, frequently, of placing those objects before us which he has faithfully sketched, in points of view calculated to give false impressions of the whole. With these allowances, Mr. Wakefield's book is really a book of authority; and though he has made some mistakes, and fallen into some errors, it is with us matter of some surprise that they are so few. Mr. Wakefield did not know the country thoroughly; and it would be wonderful if he did; for there are thousands of educated Irishmen who do not know their own country, and have grown old in the land of their birth, without ever becoming acquainted with it. To know Ireland, it is necessary to have lived in it long; and to have enjoyed the rare advantage of knowing intimately, various and adverse classes of people, who never mix or mingle without practising on each other various little deceptions upon certain points. Many rare combinations of chances would be wanting, to give an opportunity of sounding the depths of this ocean of counter-currents and troubled waters.

We subjoin an abstract of the report, for the present year, of the Dublin "Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland." And the first report of the "Cork School Society."

The London Hibernian School Society is established upon the same plan as that of Cork; and its operations have been for many years very extensive in the north-western counties, Sligo, Mayo, Galway, Monaghan, Tyrone, Cavan, Donegal, Leitrim, Fermanagh, &c. &c.: the number of children receiving instruction in their schools exceeds 60,000. To the zeal and exertions of this society Ireland is deeply indebted.

Neither the Irish, nor the British Hiberhian Society, derive any portion of their funds from the public purse. The Dublin Society for "Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland" have lately received some parliamentary aid, which, we think, they had well entitled themselves to: aid of this kind ought never to be granted, but where the society has shewn by the work done, and the time and continuity of its labours, that its objects are pure, and its zeal above all suspicion. There are some other education societies; but these we have mentioned are the principal. There is also a fund for building school-houses, vested in trustees, which, we believe, owes its existence to Mr. Grant's administration in Ireland. This is not adequate to its objects; but it has done much good.

Charter Schools. — The Charter School Society was incorporated by act of the Irish Parliament, in the year 1733. The object of this society is stated to be, to erect schools throughout the country, in which the "Poor Irish" should be taught "the English language, and the Protestant religion." For some time this society derived its funds from the zeal and benevolence of individuals only, aided by the liberal and princely donation of 1000*l*. a year from the private purse of George II.: at length, however, the society prayed assistance from parliament; and the whole establishment appears to have degenerated rapidly into a job. The money was not granted for the sake of the schools; but the schools, or something pretending to be schools, were kept on foot for the sake of the grants, for which they afforded pretext.

In 1788 the Irish parliament appointed a committee to enquire into the state of the "Protestant Charter

Schools of Ireland." This committee examined Mr. Howard, whose philanthropy had explored even these habitations of misery, where naked, starved, and stolen children, were confined and neglected. They examined also Sir J. Fitzgerald; and their report presents a shocking picture of these reputed schools. It is well known that, at this period, children could only be had by stealing them from the poor, or buying foundlings. There was little or no education; and the time of the children was chiefly occupied in work or labour for the profit of the masters: it is not surprising, therefore, that the number was small. At the time we refer to, the number, all over the kingdom, was about 1600; and, besides the society estates, which were considerable, they were receiving about 10,000*l.* a year from parliament.

The report of the committee, like other reports of committees of parliament, appears to have been very good, and very useless. Nothing was done; but the house went on to grant money with its accustomed liberality. A grant was made, in

February 1789, of £12,000
——— 1791 — 12,000
——— 1792 — 12,000
——— 1793 — 12,000
1794 — 13,000
1795 — 13,000
1796 — 13,000
1797 — 13,000
1798 — 13,000
1799 — 13,000
1800 — 13,000

In the course of these grants, the society had received

a gift of 40,000*l.* from some person unknown, and a legacy from Baron Vryhoven, of 1600*l.* per annum.

In 1801 the Imperial Parliament commenced its career of splendid patronage to these favoured schools, and threw the efforts of the Irish house into the shade. The grants are as follow, down to 1817.*

	£	s.	d.
1801 —	18,213	4	7
1802 —	19,730	14	0
1803 —	21,062	16	2
1804 —	20,129	6	4
1805 —	22,621	6	1
1806 —	22,000	0	0
1807 —	23,270	0	0
1808 —	23,103	0	0
1809 —	26,003	0	0
1810 —	29,428	0	0
1811 —	39,787	0	0
1812 —	41,539	0	0
1813 —	41,539	0	0
1814 —	41,539	0	0
1815 —	41,539	0	0
1816 —	41,539	0	0
1817 —	39,000	0	0
	512,043	7	2 British.
	554,713	12	9 Irish Currency.

These excessive grants have been diminished; but they still continue at the enormous height of 30,000*l.*,

* See Mr. Steven "On the Charter Schools."

in addition to the annual income from the property of the society, being about 10,000*l*. The number of scholars may be about 2000. The charter-schools have become odious in Ireland; and on that account they ought to be suppressed. They have been mischievous in the country; and we think they are hardly capable of being reformed or improved.

The plan of the society is vicious in its construction, and calculated to do nothing but mischief. To lodge, feed, clothe, and educate the children of the poor, to any extent, must be injurious. None but orphans, or the children of reduced persons of the middle classes, ought to be entitled to this maintenance and education. Others would not be served, but injured by it. Accordingly we find, that nothing is more notorious in Ireland than the vice and profligacy of the charter-reared children: in this respect they resemble the children of foundling hospitals, or are, perhaps, generally worse. These poor children, who have never known that best of all education, the kindness of the paternal bosom, and the reciprocations of family and kindred affections, but whose hard fate it is to be abandoned to the care of hirelings, and the intercourse of isolated beings like themselves, — who have been, from the first dawnings of mind, sensible that they are the objects of no regard, of no one's love, but are constantly *the victims of artifice and fraud* — mere materials of traffic, and frequently of a dishonest one, to the masters and servants around them, — these wretched little beings necessarily receive an education of cunning and suspicion, and hardness and depravity of heart that is frightful.

The charter-schools have filled Ireland with vice and

dissension. They have been the fruitful sources of enmities, prejudices, and immoralities. They have sent forth a perpetual supply of prostitutes and Orange-men. It is time, surely, to abate this nuisance.

We add a few particulars upon the Diocesan Free Schools in Ireland; taken from the reports of the Board of Education, and which are also to be found in Mr. Wakefield's work.

"The Diocesan Free Schools were established under the authority of an act passed in the 12 Eliz. c. 1., which enacted, that there should be a free school in every diocese in Ireland; that the lord deputy, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, should appoint the school-masters in every diocese, excepting those of Armagh, Dublin, Meath, and Kildare, of which the respective archbishops and bishops were to appoint the masters; that the school-house for every diocese should be erected in the principal shire-town of the diocese, at the cost and charges of the whole diocese, without respect of freedoms, by the device and oversight of the ordinaries of each diocese, (or the vicars general *sede vacante*), and the sheriff of the shire; that the lord deputy, or other chief governor, with and by the advice of the privy council, should, according to the quantity and quality of each diocese, appoint such yearly pension, salary or stipend for every school-master, as he should think convenient, whereof the ordinaries of every diocese should pay, yearly for ever, the third part, and the parsons, vicars, and prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical persons, should pay the other two parts, by an equal contribution to be made by the ordinaries; and that all churches, parsonages, vicarages, and other ecclesiastical

livings, that have come by any title whatsoever to the possession of the queen, or any of her progenitors, should be charged with this payment and contribution, in whose hands or possession soever they are, or shall come."

"It appears that free schools were actually established under this act in most, if not all, of the dioceses in Ireland, many of which continue to exist at this time; but at no time do they appear to have fully answered the purposes of this institution. Before the Restoration, indeed, we have not been able to find any account of them; but, from the state of the kingdom, it is not probable they were either regularly kept or usefully conducted. Soon after this event, a commission appears to have been issued by the lord-lieutenant and council, directing the bishops of the several dioceses to carry the act of the 12 Eliz. into effect; and, for that purpose, to applot the sums to be paid out of the different ecclesiastical livings in each diocese, for the stipend or salary of the diocesan school-masters; which was accordingly done in many, and perhaps in all the dioceses; but if schools were at that time generally set on foot, they appear to have been of little public utility; partly from the want of proper school-houses and other accommodations for the masters. In the 12 George I., an act was passed, empowering archbishops, bishops, &c. to set apart an acre of ground, out of any lands belonging to them, for the site of a free school, to be approved of by the chief governor for the time being; and directing that until such ground be set out, the school should be kept in such convenient place, as the archbishop or bishop of the diocese should be able to procure for a yearly rent or otherwise; and further empowering the grand jury of each county to present, from time to time, such sums

as they should find reasonable, for their respective proportion towards building or repairing the school-houses in their counties, to be levied on the whole, or such parts thereof, as are situated in each respective diocese. Under this act, a considerable improvement appears to have taken place in the state of the diocesan schools; but as presentments for the different proportions of each county in the several dioceses were found extremely inconvenient, if not impracticable, the grand jury of each county in which a diocesan school is situated were, by an act of the 29 George II., empowered to present sums to be levied on the whole county, for building or repairing the school-house. Still, however, there are several dioceses unprovided with proper school-houses, and some without any; and the general benefit derived from the whole institution is far from corresponding with the intention of the legislature, or even with the number of schools actually kept, or supposed to be so. It appears from an abstract of the returns made from the several dioceses, and herewith submitted to your grace, that out of the whole number, thirty-four, composing twenty-two archbishoprics and bishoprics, only ten are provided with diocesan school-houses in tolerable repair: in three others, the houses are either out of repair or otherwise insufficient, and the remainder are wholly unprovided; and the masters of such schools as are kept in them either rent houses for the purpose, or are accommodated in other ways. But it appears from the same returns, that in some of them no diocesan schools are kept at all, and in others, no effective ones; and that the whole number of effective schools in all the dioceses together is only thirteen; and that the whole number of scholars in all the schools together does not exceed 380. In the greater part of the

dioceses in which no school is kept, there is no contribution from the clergy for the payment of a master; but, in some instances, the salary is actually paid by the clergy to a nominal master, who either keeps no school at all, or one on a different foundation, in which the diocesan school is wholly absorbed.

"These irregularities and defects in the present state of the diocesan schools appear to have arisen from various causes, in which there is little or no ground *for supposing the backwardness or inattention of the bishops and clergy to have had any share:* the utter inadequacy of the stipend which is, or should be, collected for the maintenance of the master, and which in no single diocese exceeds 40*l.* per annum, and in some is so low as 25*l.*, would alone account for the non-existence or discontinuance of these schools, except in situations otherwise advantageous, and where grammar-schools would therefore be established and flourish, without the aid of so considerable an endowment. In several instances, the establishment of other schools in their immediate vicinity with ample endowments, and on more enlarged foundations, has either wholly superseded them, or, as we have already intimated, has *swallowed them up.*

"Such being the actual state of these schools, it may seem to be doubtful whether a system should be continued, which in its principle appears *not altogether equitable,* and has never been found efficient in practice; which is not called for by the present state of society, and, considered *as a tax on the clergy,* operates very partially and unequally; twelve out of thirty-four dioceses contributing nothing towards its object. At the period of its first establishment, the state of this country was

such as to require some effectual provisions for the education even of the upper and middle classes; and as that of the lower order had been imposed on the parochial clergy by the 28 of Henry VIII., the same policy was pursued in the 12 of Elizabeth; and it was perhaps the wisest which, in the circumstances of the times, could have been adopted: at the present day, it appears to be both unnecessary and ineffectual. If, however, it should be deemed imprudent to abandon altogether long-established institutions, which, *however imperfect or inadequate*, are still productive of some advantage, we take the liberty of recommending the adoption of measures for rendering them more useful and efficient, and placing them under such regulations, that every diocese may contribute its proportion towards their establishment and support. For these purposes, we beg leave to suggest, that instead of requiring a school to be kept in every diocese, *which has been already found impracticable*, a certain number only should be established in every province: to be supported out of the contributions from each diocese in the province; or, if it should be found to be more convenient, out of a general fund consisting of contributions from all the dioceses in every province. Supposing the whole number of schools thus established to be *twelve*, and that the average contribution of the *thirty-four* dioceses was 36*l.*, the endowment of each school would be 102*l.* per annum; but it is presumed that the average *might be raised to* 40*l. without bearing hard on the clergy*; especially if impropriators were obliged to contribute; and if the sons of the poorer clergy and curates were to be admitted into the schools as free scholars. In fixing on the situation for the schools, regard should be had, principally, to the want of proper grammar-schools in the different districts of each

province, and, as far as might be, to the continuance of the best diocesan schools already existing. By the acts of the 12 George I. and 29 George II., provision is made for building and repairing diocesan school-houses; and in the act which would be necessary for the purpose here suggested, they might be so amended as to apply and be accommodated to that purpose; and provision might be made for putting them in force.

"Signed,

"W. ARMAGH. (L. S.)

"GEO. HALL, Provost. (L. S.)

"JAMES VERSCHOYLE, Dean of St. Patrick's. (L. S.)

"R. LOVELL EDGEWORTH. (L. S.)

"JAMES WHITELAW. (L. S.)

"WILLIAM DISNEY. (L. S.)

"*Council Chamber, Dublin Castle, April*, 21. 1809."

Mr. Wakefield observes that "This report proceeds to exculpate the bishops and clergy from the charge of neglect in the present state of these schools. This attempt at exculpation is at variance with the report; for if the commissioners have established that blame, and if the blame is to fall on one class of men particularly, the bishops and clergy of Ireland appear most deserving of the censure." So far Mr. Wakefield: we have a few observations also to offer.

We are fully aware that these diocesan schools, as far as they have any existence, are a mere job. Some clergyman who thinks proper to keep a school for his private emolument, and condescends *to call it a* "*Diocesan School*," receives 40*l.* a year for his condescension: that is the whole of the matter. The boys in the *Dio-*

cesan School are taught as in other schools, and pay for their teaching as in other schools. But the bishop having the power of conferring a name and a little salary, it adds something to his patronage. We are not informed in the report, what description of children were intended originally to be admitted into these schools, or whether it was intended that their education should be wholly, or partially, gratuitous. The report states that there could be no blame to the clergy; and that the fault was in the inadequacy of the salary. Now the salary was as inadequate in one part of Ireland as in another; and why did not the clergy make the salary sufficient? They had a right to give at least as much as would be equal to 40*l.* a year, when this sum was originally fixed on. Why was the salary insufficient? — only 40*l.*, and sometimes 25*l.* a year! Did not the act state, that the salary should be according to the quantity and quality of each diocese? — "whereof the ordinaries should pay yearly, for ever, the third part, and the parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other ecclesiastical persons should pay the other two parts by an equal contribution." Here we have pointed out the way in which the salaries *were to be made sufficient.* School-houses were to be built too "at the cost and charges of the diocese." Afterwards it was found easier to levy the money for building school-houses on the county, than on the clergy. But the salaries did not increase; and there were few schools; and where there were any, they were generally a job.

It is plain, that the reporters wish to get rid of the burden, light as it is, of these schools. "Considered as a tax on the clergy," they think it not "altogether equitable;" and they propose, *for extending the benefit of education in Ireland,* that the old acts, which made a

school necessary in each diocese, should be no more regarded, and for the future there should be only *a few in each province!* In the reign of Elizabeth it was thought necessary to have a school in each diocese! in the reign of the third George, they propose that "A certain number only should be established in each province." Observe, that in the reign of Elizabeth the population of Ireland was less than a million: in our day it is seven millions. The reporters propose 36*l.* as a sufficient tax upon each diocese for upholding this splendid system of education! but they are induced to hint *cautiously*, that it might perhaps be raised to 40*l.*, "without bearing hard on the clergy," "especially if impropriators were obliged to contribute." — 40*l.* a year bearing hard on the clergy of an Irish diocese!! We need only observe on this, that the Irish clergy are the richest clergy in the world, and those in the world who have least to do as clergy: that the average of bishoprics is about 12,000*l.* a year, and of livings about 800*l.*; and 40*l.* a year upon a whole diocese is talked of as a burden which might be raised, *perhaps*, "if impropriators would contribute!"

The reporters say that these schools "are not called for by the present state of society." In this opinion we differ from them entirely. There is nothing more wanting in Ireland than good schools — and cheap — for the education of the middle classes of the people. The expense of education is, at present, felt severely by this description of persons. In the course of the last twenty years, it advanced amazingly! as prices rose, and money became plenty, guinea after guinea was added to the price of teaching in good schools; and having attained a considerable height, there it has remained. Like

the wages of labour, and professional remuneration, and other things of this sort, the cost of schooling has continued nearly what it was in the "good times," as the farmers say. We would suggest, therefore, that government should enquire into this matter: we are persuaded they will find they could not more effectually serve and relieve the people, than by enforcing the provisions of the act of Elizabeth, and taking care that the "lord-lieutenant or other chief governor, with and by the advice of the privy council, should, according to the quantity and quality of each diocese, appoint such yearly pension, salary, or stipend for every school-master as he should think convenient, "to be paid by the clergy of the diocese."

We now beg to refer to another part of the report, which notices the act of the 28 of Henry VIII.; in which the report states that the same policy was pursued as in the statute of Elizabeth; the latter having committed the care of the education of the middle classes to the clergy and bishop of the diocese; the former charged the parochial clergy with the instruction of the poor. By the 11th Report of the Commissioners of Education, it appears that every incumbent, appointed to a living in Ireland, takes a solemn oath to the following effect: —

"I, *A. B.*, do solemnly swear that I will teach, or cause to be taught, within the said vicarage or rectory of our school, as the law in that case requires."

"It also appears *that a great proportion of the regular clergy have altogether omitted to perform this solemn engagement, ratified as it is by an oath.*" This is a most

melancholy and awful fact; and the result unfortunately is, that the parish schools which Mr. Pole considered, in 1813, as calculated to educate 120,000 scholars, did not at that period contain above 23,000. Thus the richest church establishment in Europe is that which furnishes the most extraordinary and unpardonable instances of indifference to the obligations which its ministers are bound to fulfil. Ought not these errors to be corrected, if the church wishes to deserve public confidence and esteem, and to be protected in the enjoyment of its immense revenues?" *

We must imitate the wisdom, and go back to the policy, of our ancestors — we must make the wealth of the church subservient to those Christian and national purposes for which it was originally intended, if we would preserve our country safe from the perils and horrors of a greater "transition" than we have yet experienced. We must compel the clergy *to observe their oaths*, and our "lord deputies" to attend to their duties.

Tenth Report of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor of Ireland.

"It will be in the recollection of the society, that the schools assisted from the funds of the institution, during the year which ended on the 5th January, 1821, were 245: a number far exceeding those which had received aid during any preceding year; and that of these, 125 were new schools, to which the society had contributed

* "Considerations on the present State of Ireland." — Taylor, Shoe-Lane, London.

in the course of that year, for the first time. Your committee have now the satisfaction to state, that the great work of education is still advancing, notwithstanding many causes which must have operated during the past year to retard its progress. The number of schools to which aid has been extended, during the year which ended on the 5th of January, 1822, is 272: of these, thirty received grants towards building the school-houses; ninety-three for fitting up and furnishing school-rooms already built; and 122 were supplied with books, stationary, and other school requisites. Besides this; several of the foregoing schools have been assisted with money for all these purposes, according to their several necessities, and the circumstances of the districts in which they are placed. For the remaining twenty-seven schools, to which it was not deemed necessary or expedient to grant other aid, masters have been trained. Of these 272 schools, so assisted during the last year, 132 received aid for the first time. The remaining 140 had been previously in connection with the society. The number of scholars actually deriving instruction in the 132 new schools, amounts to 10,183.

"The report of last year informed you, that the number of schools assisted by the society, from its establishment to the 5th of January, 1821, was 381; and that the total number of children instructed in them amounted to 26,474. If, then, to that number be added the 10,183: and allowance be made for the increased attendance in many of the old schools, and for the children now frequenting schools which were not actually opened for the reception of scholars on the 5th of January last, the number of scholars receiving instruction in the 513 schools connected with the society, will probably exceed

40,000; being an average of seventy-eight to each school.

"Your committee should state, that besides the before-mentioned 272 schools, to which grants were made during the past year, applications were received on behalf of sixty-seven other schools: that they are in correspondence with the managers of seventeen of these, to ascertain their respective circumstances, and the expediency of assisting them: that to seven they have not thought it necessary to make any grant for the present: that four have been postponed until they shall have been visited by the inspector of the society; and that applications from thirty-nine have been unavoidably rejected.

"Amongst the schools assisted by the society last year, your committee have again to notice ten gaol schools; four of which are in prisons, where schools had not existed prior to that period. — The value of such institutions in gaols was urged in the report of the last committee, and appears to be now so generally acknowledged as not to need further observation at present; but it is with heartfelt pleasure that your committee are enabled to state, that they have a well-grounded expectation that the wretched inmates of all the prisons of Ireland, whose moral state and condition have been heretofore too much neglected, will soon enjoy the same inestimable advantages. A philanthropic individual, through whose exertions, and by the opportunities and influence arising from whose station, they have reason to expect, that even in these abodes of vice and misery, schools upon the principles of the society will ere long be universally established, has lately offered

his valuable co-operation to your committee. Your committee cannot withhold from you the further agreeable communication, that this respectable individual, whose duties will call him to every part of our island, has kindly proposed to visit and report upon such schools, connected with the society, as shall lie within his reach upon his tours throughout the country. Your committee scarcely need inform you of the alacrity with which they accepted these benevolent offers, nor dwell upon the great benefits which may be expected from them, as well to the institution as to the public at large.

"Your committee have more and more reason to estimate highly the value of frequent inspection of country schools. For this purpose, they have found it necessary to seek for an additional person, qualified for the difficult and important office of inspector of country schools; and they have much satisfaction in acquainting you, that they have succeeded in obtaining, at the usual rate of recompence, the services of a gentleman perfectly qualified for the undertaking. At the same time, however, they consider, the gratuitous assistance of the benevolent gentleman above alluded to particularly valuable, as it will afford a wholesome check upon the paid officers of the society.

"Your committee have felt it their duty to exercise their privilege, by electing the gentleman already alluded to, an honorary member of the committee, agreeably to the power intrusted to them, in the eleventh of your laws and regulations.

"Since the last annual meeting, Mr. Veevers com-

municated to your committee the result of his inspection of the numerous schools in the counties of Donegal and Tyrone, which were referred to in the last annual report. These counties abounded with schools of a very inferior description, possessing few of the qualities which tend to the moral improvement of the scholars. Mr. Veevers has made minute and accurate reports of the state, circumstances, and situation of each of these schools; whereby your committee have been enabled to form a judgment, as to which of them appear really deserving of encouragement and assistance from the society, and, consequently, to make a proper selection.

" The inspector, Lewis Mills, was out on actual inspection during ten months of the year. He visited 197 country schools, and reported fully upon the state and circumstances of each: and your committee also employed him in an inspection of the several schools for the instruction of the poor, in and near the metropolis, during the winter season, when he could not have been advantageously employed in remote districts of the country. Of these, he visited thirty-seven daily schools, sixteen of which are in connection with this society. The number of scholars in the thirty-seven schools amounts to 7,827.

" Your committee, upon consideration of the merits of the teachers of the several schools visited by Mills, have awarded gratuities to the masters and mistresses of 103 schools, varying, according to their respective merits, from 3*l.* to 10*l.*; and have expended for that purpose 649*l.* 11*s.*; being, on an average, somewhat more than 6*l.* to each teacher. Your committee consider this a most beneficial branch of your expenditure: the emulation

excited amongst the teachers, who have been already rewarded, to merit an increase or repetition of your bounty, and the desire of those who have not succeeded, to be found meritorious on the next inspection, have tended greatly to increase their diligence and exertions, and, consequently, to improve the condition of the schools, and the proficiency of the scholars.

"Your committee are desirous to accomplish the inspection of all schools connected with the institution, twice, at least in every year; but at uncertain intervals. Hitherto they have not been able to accomplish even one complete inspection within any one year; but as a second inspector is now provided, their successors will have the means of attaining this very important object. The society must therefore look forward to an increased expenditure, under the heads of Rewards to Deserving Teachers, and Expenses of Inspection.

"When your committee entered upon the duties of their office, they found in the training-school of the society twenty-five masters, who had been admitted towards the conclusion of the last year. In addition to this number, seventy-seven new masters have been admitted during the year which ended on the 5th of January last. Thus, the total number of masters for country schools, who have partaken of the advantages of this branch of your institution during the past year, is 102; a number much exceeding that of any former year. Orders have been made, besides, by your committee, for the admission of eighteen other masters, as vacancies shall occur in the training-school. Of the 102 masters who have thus received instruction during the year, sixty-eight have gone to their respective schools,

with certificates of their good conduct during their abode in your training-school, and of their competence to conduct schools upon the improved principles of instruction. One was dismissed for improper conduct: six departed from the institution without obtaining such certificate; and twenty-seven remained under instruction when the year closed. Of the foregoing seventy-seven masters actually admitted during the year, sixty-three were destined for schools conducted according to the principles of the society, and were consequently maintained at the expense of the institution, and received the customary allowance for travelling expenses; but as eleven were intended for schools not upon the principles of the society, although they enjoyed, agreeably to the liberal regulations of the institution, equal benefit of instruction gratuitously, your committee were precluded from devoting any part of your funds towards their support or travelling expences: the remaining three await appointments. Thus the total number of masters, who have received the benefit of the institution in this department, since January, 1814, and who were intended for schools in various parts of Ireland, amounts to 356.

"Your committee feel that this branch of your institution is one of the very first importance, with a view to the establishment and diffusion of well-ordered education throughout Ireland, and to the consequent improvement of the morals and condition of the people. For many years past, there has been no want in Ireland of the means of instruction for the poor, in spelling, reading, and arithmetic; but the disreputable character and conduct of the masters, their total incompetence to discharge the most important functions of their station,

the absence of discipline and systematic order, the pernicious nature of the books too often found in their schools, and a total neglect of the morals, habits, and conduct of their pupils,—rendered the village and hedge-schools of Ireland any thing but a blessing to its population. Your committee are happy in believing, that a very decided improvement has been already wrought in these particulars, by the instrumentality of this society. —They have, in their circular, addressed to the local committees and managers of country schools, requested that particular care shall be taken, in the selection of the individuals intended for the important and influential office of teachers. They have recommended that "their ages should not be less than eighteen, or more than thirty years; that they should have a competent knowledge of the rudiments of spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic; that in temper they should be patient; in disposition mild, but firm; of diligent habits, and of unblemished character; and, above all, that they should be fully convinced of the importance of inculcating upon the young mind a love of decency and cleanliness, of industry, honesty, and truth." Your committee have accordingly observed, that a striking and progressive improvement has taken place in the description of men who come up for instruction in the training-school; and in order further to promote improvement, they have prolonged the period of instruction. During former years, from four to six weeks were allowed for the instruction of each master, in the improved method o teaching, according to their respective acquirements anc capacities. The time now generally devoted to this object is from six to eight weeks.

"Considering it a very desirable object, that those

masters who being intended for schools connected with the Society, and are consequently maintained at its expense, should reside within the walls of the institution, they have caused six beds to be added to the number of eighteen, which had been provided by their predecessors; so that twenty-four masters are now accommodated with separate beds under your roof. Your Committee cannot pass from this subject without noticing the valuable services of Mr. Veevers, the superintendant of the training school and instructor of schoolmasters. They have ever found him intelligent, zealous, and diligent in the discharge of his various and important duties; but they feel particularly called upon to express their approbation of his judicious and efficient exertions for the instruction and improvement of the masters committed to his charge.

The providing the means of instructing and training mistresses of female schools, is a subject worthy the attention of succeeding committees. Your Committee have had several applications to train mistresses for country schools; but it would require accommodation which the Society does not now possess, to make this object practicable. And your Committee, having felt no small degree of anxiety from the charge of twenty-five to thirty masters at one time in the institution, are sensible, that if the instruction of school-mistresses be undertaken, it must impose considerable additional care and responsibility upon their successors.

The progress of the institution in another department, that of publishing and circulating cheap books, of an improved character, for the use of the lower orders, has been equally satisfactory: — 185,218 copies of the

cheap books have been disposed of out of the Society's depository during the year ended on the 5th of January, 1822; making, with the number sold previously to the 5th of January, 1821, the grand total of 556,522 copies, which have gone into circulation since the sale of the cheap books commenced, in the month of November, 1817.

The sales during the earlier quarters of the last year far exceeded the rate of the sale during any preceding period, there having been no less than 55,354 sold in the quarter ending the 5th of August. But your Committee, finding that they had, in a great measure, if not completely, achieved one of your principal objects, by getting such possession of the market, through the means of the wholesale dealers who supply the country shops and hawkers, as nearly to have taken away from the printers of ribaldry and pernicious books all motive of interest for continuing their trade, they conceived it their duty to raise the price of their cheap books from four to six pounds per thousand, in quires, to the wholesale buyers; so as to diminish the loss to your funds, and bring the wholesale price somewhat nearer to the intrinsic value of the book; leaving the retail price, however, at its former rate. The effect of this arrangement, and of the large sales which had been previously made, naturally was to diminish the sale of books by wholesale, during the two last quarters. But your Committee doubt not that it will soon arrive at, if not exceed its former rate, inasmuch as they believe the supply of the country must now be derived almost entirely from your depository.

The number of new publications added to your

assortment within the year has been five, making forty varieties of five-sheet books, and eight varieties of two-sheet books. Your Committee being desirous to encounter with success the pernicious works which formerly abounded, and which were chiefly addressed to the passions and imaginations of the people, endeavoured at first to provide such reading as would be most adapted to their taste and previous habits. Whilst they sought, therefore, to divest their publications of every thing of an injurious tendency, they felt it necessary to render them as entertaining as possible. They have always been anxious, however, that their publications should be useful as well as harmless; and therefore, having furnished a considerable variety, they have lately deemed it of more importance to attend to the matter than to the number of their new publications. Besides the new works published within the year, there have been reprints of thirteen of the five-sheet books, and of two of the two-sheet books; the editions of each being 10,000. So that the number of copies printed and published within the last year has been about 200,000; which, added to 220,000 printed and published during the preceding year, so reduced the stock of paper, as to render it necessary for your Committee to expend an increased sum in this department. Besides the addition thus made to your stock of cheap books, your Committee have made some valuable additions also to your stock of school-requisites. To assist those engaged in promoting schools for the instruction of females, a sampler-book has been prepared and published giving a concise account of the mode of instructing the scholars in needle-work, as practised in your school, with specimens of work. This article is now for sale in your depository.

A new reading-book for the use of schools having been compiled under the direction of their predecessors, your Committee have published an addition of it, which forms a very useful addition to your stock, and is also for sale in your depository. Your Committee have also published maps of the Holy Land, and of the countries which have been the scene of the labours and travels of the Apostles, as narrated in the New Testament. These are sold in your shop at the low price of three-pence each, and are calculated, as they conceive, to increase the interest with which the narratives of the Sacred History are perused by children; realizing to their minds the transactions of which they read, and exhibiting before them, as it were, the very places where the momentous events occurred, which are detailed in the Sacred Volume.

Your Committee have likewise added to your assortment of school-requisites an improved set of copper-plate writing pieces, which are for sale at low prices.

It does not appear necessary to occupy much time in detail respecting your model-schools; but your Committee hope that the school for boys, which has been made so useful in the training of the large number of schoolmasters already mentioned, has also answered the more immediate purpose for which it was established; and that it continues to afford the blessings of education to a large number of the poor of this district of the metropolis; at the same time exhibiting the ease and advantage with which a very large number of scholars can be instructed by the improved method of teaching, under the direction of a single master.

The female school, they now trust, is placed upon a better footing than it has been hitherto. A mistress was engaged during the past year, who promises to afford satisfaction to the committee of ladies who have taken so much interest in its welfare, and to whose zealous attention, and superintendence of this branch of your institution, your Committee feel deeply indebted. There had previously been two mistresses employed; one to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the other to instruct in needle-work in the school; but this was found to lead to much inconvenience, and both branches of instruction are now under the care of one mistress, with the assistance of monitresses selected from the most deserving scholars.

From the establishment of the south-eastern district school to the commencement of last year, 7,046 children had been admitted into your school. The numbers on the general attendance-rolls, at the close of the year, were, in the male school 506, in the female school 430; and the numbers which have been admitted into both schools, from their opening, are 8,254 children, of both sexes.

On the subject of receipts and disbursements of the Society during the year, your Committee feel it necessary to make some observations. The former committee reported, that they had been under the necessity of borrowing 1,000*l.* to carry on the business of the institution, during the latter part of the year 1820, and the commencement of the year 1821; and they transferred to your Committee a balance of 686*l.* 19*s.* 11½*d.*, which forms the first item on the side of the receipts, in the account presented herewith. They also reported, that,

finding they were indebted in the sum of 1,000*l.*, and that the demands upon their funds, in every branch of the institution, were increasing, they looked with anxiety to the success of the petition for the enlarged grant, which had been presented by their predecessors to the House of Commons.

Your Committee did not come into office until the 22d of February, 1821; and it was not until after that time, that the extent of the grant to be proposed to Parliament was communicated officially to the Society.

The former committee had abstained from giving premiums during the latter part of their year of office, owing to the low state of their funds, and their uncertainty as to the amount of parliamentary assistance; and they reported that they had actually refused forty applications for aid on this ground. Your Committee, however, had soon the satisfaction to find that a very liberal aid would be recommended to parliament, by the administration of this country; and they felt themselves at liberty, during the remaining ten months of the year, to exercise their unshackled discretion, in making grants in every eligible case.

The next item, on the same side of the account, which requires notice, is the amount of the grant, being 10,000*l.* British, for which your Committee feel that the gratitude of the Society, and of the public, is due to the legislature and government of the country.

Th next, is the amount of subscriptions and donations, 333*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*; then the receipts from the scholars in Kildare Place, 97*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.*, being the payment of one

penny per week, paid by each child in the school. The practice of requiring this small payment from the children attending schools for the instruction of the poor, is strongly recommended to their patrons and managers: a greater value appears to be set upon the instruction received, when a payment, though small, is required. It induces parents to look more closely to the regular attendance of their children; and it meets, besides, a feeling not uncommon in this country, (which ought, perhaps, to be rather encouraged than repressed,) of repugnance to receiving education as a mere charitable boon, instead of obtaining it through the means afforded by the exertion of honest industry.

The next, is the sum of 1111*l.* 2*s.* 9½*d.*, being the produce of sales of all kinds of school-requisites during the year.

The next, is the produce of the sale of cheap books, already mentioned, during the year, amounting to 1013*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.*

The remaining small items, on the side of receipts, amounting to the sum of 207*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.*, do not appear to require specific mention or observation; but they make the total amount of receipts, during the year ended the 5th January, 1822, from all sources, 14,282*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*

The principal items on the side of disbursements are, 967*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*, paid for keeping up the necessary supply of stationery, school-books, and other requisites for schools.

Next, 3559*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* paid for paper for printing, the

chief part of which was required for the cheap-book department.

The third item is 1015*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.*, being expended for compiling, printing, binding, and other expenses incident to the publishing of the cheap books.

The next, requiring mention, is rent and taxes, 83*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* Of this sum, 60*l.* was for the rent of the Society's premises in St. Stephen's Green, transferred to you by the South Eastern District School Society. These concerns, however, have been sold, and will henceforward cease to be any charge upon your funds.

The next, for five quarters' salari f all the paid officers of the Institution. viz. register, assistant register, clerk in the register's office, superintendent of model-schools, and instructor of school-masters, master of model-school for boys, mistress of model-school for girls, literary assistant to the book-committee, storekeeper, who is also salesman and superintendent of printing, inspector of country schools, and collector of subscriptions, and for wages of the several servants of the Society for the like period, amounting, in the whole, to 1461*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* This item requires explanation from the circumstance of five quarters being charged for within one year.

From the precision required in all statements rendered by public institutions to the Commissioners of public accounts, no sums can be included in the accounts of the year which have not been actually paid, and the proper vouchers obtained for them, on or before the 5th of January, which is deemed the last day of the last quarter of the year, in all public accounts. All pay-

ments made by this Institution are issued by drafts on the Bank, drawn by the Committee, whose stated meetings are held on Saturday morning; and it so happened that the 5th of January, 1822, coincided with a stated meeting of your Committee. This circumstance threw into the accounts of the last year a quarter's payment of salaries and wages, which would otherwise have gone into the current year.

The expenses of miscellaneous printing, stationery, &c. 140*l.* 13*s.* 10½*d.* and 121*l.* 12*s.* 8½*d.* for coals and candles, form the next charges; and upon these it may be proper to observe, for the information of those not acquainted with the details of the Institution, that the extensive correspondence of the Society, the proceedings and accounts of the various sub-committees, to which the immediate superintendence of the different branches of your business is confided, the furnishing the necessary printed forms for applications to the Society, and for the inspector's and schoolmaster's reports, the printing the Society's reports, and making known its principles and objects, require a considerable expense, under the head of miscellaneous printing and stationery. With respect to coals and candles, your Committee beg to state, that strict economy is used in the consumption of them; and they trust, that the sum charged will appear moderate, when it is recollected that 32 persons, including 24 country school-masters, are lodged on the Society's premises; and that five large fires are required in the school-rooms, and fifteen other fires must be constantly kept up, during the winter season, in the apartments occupied for the various purposes of the Institution.

The next item which appears to require notice, is

the sum of 2037*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* for grants paid to schools during the year. When stating this item, it is proper to observe that 108 grants have been made to schools *during the past year*, which had not, before the 5th of January last, been called for, or the expenditure of which had not been duly certified, as required by the rules of the Society: the amount of those grants, to which your funds now stand pledged, is 1320*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.*

The next item on the side of disbursements is 379*l.* 13*s.* 11*d.* being the sum paid for the dieting, support, and travelling expenses of the country schoolmasters trained in your seminary.

The expense of inspection of country schools is the next charge: the amount is 195*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*; and this will probably be much increased during the next year.

The next item is 649*l.* 11*s.* for gratuities to deserving masters, upon which your Committee have already observed; and they expect that the disbursements under this head during the current year will be considerably augmented.

The only remaining disbursement requiring particular mention is 1000*l.*, being the sum repaid by your Committee for so much borrowed by their predecessors, for the purposes of the Institution, as hereinbefore mentioned. The other nine items on this side of the account, amounting together to the sum of 434*l.* 10*s.* 5*d.*, which do not appear to require particular observation, make, with those already stated, the total of 12,047*l.* 3*s.* 7*d.* for the disbursements of the Society during the year; and which, being deducted from the total receipts,

14,282*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*, leaves a balance in favour of the Institution of 2235*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* This balance serves to meet the disbursements of the Institution during the early part of the present year: a considerable portion of it has been already disbursed between the 5th of January and the time of making up this Report; and against it must be set, in the first place, the sum of 1320*l.* 18*s.* 3*d.* already mentioned, as amount of the grants made within the year, which had not beeen regularly certified, or paid; and also, contracts and engagements with manufacturers of paper, the fulfilment of which, on their parts, had been delayed by various casualties. Your Committee, therefore, feel it right to observe, that the balance above stated is rather nominal than really available for the prospective operations of the Institution.

Your Committee, from the commencement of the Society's exertions, have been extremely anxious to obtain the co-operation of local associations throughout the country, to insure the effectual diffusion of education; and, as far as practicable, the due application of the aid granted from your funds in all cases; but it has been found difficult to establish them. Your Committee have now, however, the pleasure to state, that they have secured the valuable assistance of a local association of gentlemen in Cork, established for promoting and assisting schools in Munster; from whose zeal in the good cause which they have undertaken, and their more immediate attention to the schools within their district, your Committee anticipate the rapid extension of education in one of the provinces of Ireland, where schools of an improved character and description are most wanted.

Representations having been made to your Committee, from a respectable quarter, that beneficial consequences

would result from annexing lending libraries to various public institutions, for the benefit of the poorer classes; and your Committee, considering the purposes for which the grants were made by the legislature, for providing and publishing cheap, moral, and instructive books, for the lower orders in Ireland, thought it right to agree to make grants of cheap books, in all cases, to such establishments as provided for the preservation of the books, and the due application of them to the purposes intended.

Your Committee have been in the habit of making grants of cheap books, to form the foundation of lending libraries, for all schools connected with the Society; and great advantages have been found to result from such an appendage to schools.

Your Committee, before closing their Report, would desire to guard you against any impatience in the ultimate attainment of your object, or any dissatisfaction at not immediately reaping the full fruits of your labours. Your object is one which cannot be suddenly attained: it is the gradual and progressive amelioration of the character, habits, and condition of our lower orders, by the establishment and diffusion of a well-ordered system of education throughout the country. It aims at effecting a moral change in the great body of our people: such a change, to be real and permanent, cannot be forced; it must necessarily be slow and gradual. It should be recollected, that you act immediately upon the infant and youthful portion of our population. It is the rising generation who, in the first instance, experience the benefits resulting from your numerous schools; but your Committee have had

abundant evidence that the effects of the Society's operations are not altogether confined to the children taught in those schools. A considerable improvement has been produced, in many cases, through those children, upon the morals and habits of their parents.

Finally, your Committee have the satisfaction of thinking that, from the details of this Report, you will draw this gratifying conclusion, that the Society is flourishing in all its branches; for, in these details, it has appeared that the number of schools instituted on an improved plan, and of masters trained, has increased beyond the most sanguine expectation; and that such is the state of the model-school, and such the extent of the sale of school-requisites and cheap books, as not only to furnish abundant evidence of rapid advance in the great work of education, but at the same time to demonstrate, that the principles, by which the society has been governed, are well adapted to the circumstances of Ireland, and must form the surest basis on which to establish and complete a general system, for the instruction and moral improvement of our population.

First Annual Report of the Cork Hibernian School Society. — 1821.

Patron.—His Grace the Duke of Devonshire.

Vice-Patrons.—The Most Noble the Marquess of Lansdowne; The Most Noble the Marquess of Tho-

mond; The Right Hon. the Earl of Shannon; The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Cork and Orrery.

Vice-Presidents.—Lord Viscount Ennismore; Lord Viscount Doneraile; Lord Viscount Kingsborough, M. P.; Right Hon. Lord Carbery; Right Hon. Lord Arden; Hon. Richard Hare, M. P.; Sir N. C. Colthurst, Bart. M. P.; Sir Augustus Warren, Bart.; Rt. Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry, M. P.; Sir John Godfrey, Bart.; William H. W. Newenham, Esq.; Richard Aldworth, Esq.; John Smith Barry, Esq.; J. B. Roberts, Esq.; Robert Day, Esq.

Treasurer.—William Beamish, jun. Esq.

Committee.—Sir W. Chatterton, Bart.; Colonel Currey; Colonel Hodder; Justin M'Carty; Colonel Fitzgerald; Major Newenham; Horace Townsend; Jemmett Browne; Major Greene; Captain Dilkes, R. N.; Samuel Penrose; Daniel Leahy; Thomas Bury; W. S. Hallaran, M. D.; Samuel R. Wily; Captain Warren; Rogers Aldworth; William R. Hare; William Lecky; H. Baldwin, M. D.; J. Milner Barry, M. D.; Alex. O'Driscoll; Thomas B. Latham; James Lane; Jacob Mark; H. B. Evanson, M. D.; Michael Roberts; Thomas Busteed; Geo. Herrick, M. D.; Henry Bastable; Peter Besnard; John W. Topp; William Fagan; Edward Morgan; Jos. D. Freeman; Abrm. Orpen, M. D.; Joseph H. Manly; E. Weldon Walshe.

Secretaries.—John O'Driscol; William Logan.

The Committee meet the first Thursday in every month, at one o'clock, at the Assembly-Rooms, George's Street.

Resolutions at the First Annual Meeting of the Cork Hibernian School Society, held at the Assembly-Rooms, George's Street, Right Hon. Lord Carbery, in the Chair. The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to: —

It was moved by William Henry Worth Newenham, Esq.; seconded by Horace Townsend, Esq.:

That the Report then read be adopted; and that it be printed as the Report of this Society for the past year.

By Justin M'Carty, Esq.; seconded by the Rev. Henry Irwin:

That, convinced of the admirable adaptation of the plan of the Society to the circumstances of the country, the Society is fully determined to persevere in the important work in which it is engaged.

By the Rev. Edward St. Lawrence; seconded by R. T. P. Pope, Esq.:

That the following gentlemen be the Committee*, and that the Treasurer and Secretaries be requested to continue their services for the ensuing year.

By Colonel Currey, Lismore Castle; seconded by the Rev. John Burnet:

That, feeling how much the success of the Society's efforts must depend upon the zeal and concurrence of the gentry of the country, the members of this meeting pledge themselves to use their influence with their friends, in aid of the Society's labours, and for the increase of its funds.

By Sir N. C. Colthurst, Bart., M. P.; seconded by Herbert Baldwin, Esq. M. D.:

* As inserted in preceding page.

That the Society will feel grateful to the clergymen of all denominations, who may kindly favour them with their assistance, in personally inspecting the management and the progress of their schools.

By John Martin, Esq. F. T. C. D.; seconded by the Rev. Mr. Hallaran:

That the warmest thanks of this meeting are due, and hereby presented to the Ladies' Society, for their great exertions during the past year, from which the Society have derived the timely and important aid of *one hundred and forty-three pounds.*

By Jemmet Browne, Esq.; seconded by James Lane, Esq.:

That the thanks of this Society are eminently due to His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, our noble patron, for his continued support, and the interest he invariably takes in the prosperity of this Society; and for his assurances of further aid, if necessary.

Lord Carbery having left the chair, and W. H. W. Newenham, Esq. of Coolmore, being called thereto; it was moved by Colonel Currey; seconded by Colonel Hodder:

That the cordial thanks of this meeting are due, and respectfully presented to the Right Hon. Lord Carbery, who has just left the chair, for his countenance this day; and the zealous and important aid which upon all occasions he has afforded this Society.

Report, &c.

The Committee of the Cork Hibernian School Society, in making their first annual Report, have to congratulate the public upon the great and unexpected

success which has attended their labours. In the short space of less than one year, they have opened and established thirty-one schools in this and the adjoining counties; in which they give gratuitous instruction to more than 3000 poor children. And if the impulse, which the cause of education generally has received in the country by means of your exertions, be considered, this society might fairly attribute to itself much of the praise of numberless meritorious efforts on the part of individuals, who, roused by means of your proceedings to a sense of the necessity, and of the obligation to provide instruction for the poor, but differing from your society upon minor points, have chosen to proceed upon plans of their own devising.

Whatever be the system upon which these schools may be established, your Committee must rejoice in this happy, though incidental, effect of their exertions. But they have to observe of the schools established in this way by individuals, that they are frequently expensive; and that the same sums expended upon the plan of your society, would, generally, be found adequate to the instruction of a much greater number of poor children; and also, that these schools being various in system and formation, fail in one of the most material objects contemplated by your society — the cultivation of one general and pervading sentiment and feeling, upon the great obligations of civil and social life, and one uniform conviction upon the great truths which are the basis of our Christian faith, and the bulwark and the pillars of every Christian community. — In all cases, and in every form of society, such an object must be of the utmost importance; but in *this* country it must be felt to be of the most urgent and paramount necessity. Torn as this island

has been by unhappy divisions; and with the most melancholy proofs presented to us, even within these few months and in our own county, that the spirit of discord still lives amongst us, and can still exhibit its triumphs and its victims, we are called upon to use every means whereby we may convince our people of the guilt and folly of their enmities, and show them how nearly they are connected, and by what close and cordial affinities of interest, country and Christian charity, they stand related to each other, and that the lines of separation, which once divided them, are blotted out for ever, and present now but an imaginary existence, the shadowy tracings of past and perished feuds.

But how shall this be accomplished? To this end the best and brightest of the patriots and statesmen of the land have laboured and toiled in vain. The task remains for you. You are called to the work which these have left unfinished. It is for you to open up the way and break and prepare the soil, that the great and good of the world may no longer look upon our country with a hopeless and despairing eye, deeming our perverseness incurable, and our frightful animosities past all remedy — the indelible and inherent curse of our soil and nation. It is your high and happy province to go before him who is charged with the ministration of the eternal Gospel; that the light of a more cultivated humanity may become the dawn of the full brilliancy of revelation; and that the spirit of a purer and holier Christianity may descend upon all the sects who profess to acknowledge the law of light and love.

In the progress of the labours of your society, they have learned much of the moral state of the country;

and they have found it to be such as to call loudly for an increase of zeal, and a continuance of exertion. They have found a population crowded sometimes to excess, and rapidly increasing, while poverty is spreading its blight over all the means of subsistence. No plans of charity, no measures of the politician can meet this evil; and the efforts of the people, while their hands are tied up, and their spirits sunk in ignorance and indolence, must be fruitless, or worse. The process of a well-conducted education can alone enable the people to procure that relief for themselves, which ever lies within the reach of intelligence and industry. Amongst an enlightened, intelligent, and cultivated people, employment would be found, and manufactures would probably spring up, which no skill can now make to take root in a soil so rough and impracticable. These would spread comfort and competence, and, possibly, lay the foundations of national wealth and prosperity.

Your Committee would by no means encourage sanguine expectations of sudden changes in the habits of the people. These must be very gradual. There have indeed been instances, really surprising, of such changes of habit. But these are rare. Your Committee consider the improvements which your society is calculated to accomplish, as certain; but they are aware that they must be slow in coming to maturity. The children whom you educate must grow up, and in such numbers, as that, by mutual example and encouragement, they may be able to acquire a moral power, capable of resisting the contagion of surrounding example. It is true, that as you proceed to educate the children, much salutary effect is sometimes produced upon the parents, and the result

of your exertions becomes visible speedily. But on the other hand, the opposition which in some instances you meet with, occasionally clouds the prospect before you; and where a ray of hope and light had settled on the dark mass of the population of a district, it is sometimes but of momentary continuance; and your Committee have seen it with sorrow fade away, and their hope and exertions have been defeated and destroyed.

Your Committee have made earnest and anxious efforts to meet every objection which could be made to their plans, and to conciliate every prejudice; but not always with success. They must be content to wait the sure operation of time to remove these, and to do justice to their motives.

But they have had to contend with more than prejudice. This may be grappled with — it may be soothed, or conquered, or disarmed. But with what arms can you attack apathy? With what language will you address that selfishness which winds itself round the human heart, and shuts out all feeling or consideration for whatever does not concern the immediate interest of the party? How will you reason with thoughtlessness and indifference? It is in this region that your Committee have found their most formidable obstacles. Rough and rugged as is the field they have had to labour, and covered as it is with obstructions to their every exertion, they would not yet despair, if they could excite in the public that interest in their efforts, and that feeling of the importance of the object they have in view, and bring round them that sympathy and concern which would be the sure earnest of their ultimate success.

But though your Committee cannot boast of having excited such an interest very widely or extensively, they have yet the satisfaction of stating, that their operations have been greatly facilitated by the zeal and liberality of numerous individuals, whose exertions are much beyond their praise, and by the unexpected munificence of a few distinguished persons, who have added the lustre of good deeds and generous concern for their country's welfare to the honors of high rank. Amongst the foremost of these, your Committee have to place your noble patron and vice-patron, His Grace the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquess of Lansdowne, whose liberal donations and subscriptions have given strength and stability to your infant society. Your Committee have also particularly to acknowledge the very liberal donation of 100*l.* from the Hon. Robert Smith, M. P. procured through the Marquess of Lansdowne's recommendation, — and very lately, an unsolicited donation of 50*l.* from the Earl of Cork.

Your Committee have chiefly to lament the want of a numerous list of *annual* subscribers, whose contributions of small sums would be a permanent support. Very considerable assistance, however, in this way, they have derived from the zeal and exertions of the Ladies' Society; and they look forward to them, as likely still to form their most effectual and valuable support. In times of such severe public pressure, your Committee would not look for, nor expect, high subscriptions: they would rather see upon their list a considerable number of small ones; because these always make in the aggregate a larger sum, and, chiefly, because they would afford that expression of public interest which your Committee are anxious to collect around them.

Your Committee gratefully acknowledge their obligations to the London Hibernian Society, which still continues kindly to supply your schools with books and inspection — assistance, in the present state of your funds, of the utmost importance.

Your Committee think it right to state, that they have occasionally had to encounter opinions not friendly to that rule of your society, which requires that the Scriptures should be put into the hands of children of a competent age and proficiency; but while they think themselves bound not to depart from this rule, they have been anxious to afford every proof, that their sole and only object is to make the people acquainted with those foundations of morality and religion which exist no where but in the Sacred Scriptures, and without which, the little learning they could afford would, in their opinion, be vain and fruitless. Your Society builds up no system — interferes with no profession of faith; and they have the fullest conviction, that when their views shall be better understood, they will acquire that confidence which will facilitate the extension of their plan — a plan, which experience has proved to be admirably fitted to the circumstances and condition of the country: and they cannot but indulge a hope, that the happy union of parties which has lately taken place at the foot of the throne, will be followed by a yet happier union of all professions, upon the broad basis of the universal Gospel.

Your Commitee cannot but observe with great satisfaction the numerous charitable and religious societies existing in this city and neighbourhood, embracing objects of foreign as well as domestic benevolence. But they will not hesitate to state boldly their claim, as equal

to any, and beyond most, to public attention and support. Before you look abroad to distant nations and to foreign lands for objects of compassion and benevolent and charitable concern, you are bound to see that you pass none by who are at *your own* doors. These have the first claim. We ask you not to shut your hand to the Jew or the Heathen; but before you give your contribution we would beg you to inquire, if there be none of your own country who are yet in ignorance, — and have you *first* given these the far larger share to which they are entitled? We would ask those whose high concern it is to spread abroad the knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures — we would ask them, have they prepared the way, and supported as they ought, those Institutions which are the pioneers of the path of light? We would say, it is not enough that you give this book to those only who can read it. The faculty of reading, where it exists amongst the poor, is seldom found to have been cultivated to any good purpose. They will, possibly, not read it. You should turn your attention to the formation of *habits* of good and useful reading, and to the great object of increasing the number of readers, so as to give strength and countenance to the new principle of moral improvement, which it is the purpose of this society to create. When the poor have been used to read good works; when they have been reared up upon a system of sound, though limited education, they will receive the volume you present with thankfulness, and appreciate its value.

There is no class of persons who take any concern in the public welfare, whatever may be their peculiar views or objects, that we cannot invite to come with us, and lay here the broad foundation of every good work.

Tablets and books issued for the use of the schools, from the 20th October, 1820, to 1st October, 1821.

Alphabet and Spelling Tablets	230
Spelling-Book, first part	1721
———, second part	1562
Testaments	579
——— Irish	84
Irish Spelling-Books	76
Instructions for arranging and conducting Schools	54
Rolls	115
Class Papers	57

State of the Society's Funds.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
Donations and life subscriptions	298	18	8
Annual subscriptions received from 20th Oct. 1820, to 1st Oct. 1821	48	9	8
Cork Ladies' Hibernian School Society, including 40*l.*, the produce of the donation boxes	143	11	5½
Remittances from the London Hibernian Society, to pay the expenses of inspection	60	0	0
Total	£550	19	9½

Disbursements.	£	s.	d.
Schoolmasters' salaries	148	6	7
Inspectors' salaries	46	3	4
Inspectors' travelling expenses	12	10	5½
Printing tablets and school-books, stationery and advertising	31	16	6
Carried forward	£238	16	10½

DISBURSEMENTS *continued*: —	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	238	16	10½
Carriage of Books from Dublin	0	11	1
Rhemish Testaments, (176 copies)	10	3	11
Postage	2	6	7
Incidental expenses	0	6	0
	£253	4	5½
Balance in favour of the society	297	15	4
Total	£550	19	9½

The balance which appears in favour of the society is made up of the donations and life subscriptions which form no part of its permanent income: this balance must, however, be immediately applied to the support of the schools, as the annual subscriptions are not adequate. The number of children at present educating under the society is upwards of 3000: the expense of each child, including inspection and books, may be rated at 5*s*. per annum: the expense of educating 3000 is 750*l*. The amount of local subscriptions to the schools is not more than 280*l*.: if this be deducted from the gross expenditure, there remains 470*l*. to be borne annually by the society; to meet which there is only in permanent subscriptions 140*l*.; and it is to be observed also, that the number of schools and scholars are daily increasing.

Privileges of Subscribers. — 1. Each subscriber of one guinea annually, is a member of this society. — 2. Each subscriber of ten guineas, or upwards, is a member for life. — 3. Each subscriber of five guineas annually, or of twenty guineas at one time, shall be entitled to attend and vote at all meetings of the Committee.

Form of a Bequest to the Society. — I give unto the treasurer of "The Cork Hibernian School Society,"

formed in Cork in the Year 1820, the sum of
pounds sterling, to be paid out of such part only of my personal estate as shall not consist of chattels real, for the purposes of said society, and for which the receipt of such treasurer shall be a sufficient discharge.

☞ Devises of land, or of money charged on land, or secured on mortgage of lands or tenements, or to be laid out in lands or tenements, are void; but money or stock may be given by will, if not directed to be laid out in land.

Rules and Regulations of the Society.

Government of the Schools. — The society places all the schools under the superintendence of

Resident Visitors. — Clergymen of every denomination, connected with the children under instruction, and gentlemen resident in the neighbourhood, who may please to interest themselves in the education of the lower orders, are solicited to superintend the concerns of the schools.

Selection of Teachers. — In selecting teachers to preside over any of the society's schools, moral character and competency for the office are the only necessary qualifications. Individuals so qualified, *of every religious denomination*, are alike eligible.

Inspectors — Are employed to open and arrange the schools — hold quarterly, and take occasional inspections; and, where necessary, settle with, and pay teachers. They are respectfully to attend to the suggestions of the visitors — and are authorized to apply for, and receive subscriptions and donations.

School Books. — To guarantee the pledged non-interference of the society with the religious tenets of those under their care; — to secure unto their pupils, moral principle, without any interference with the peculiar doctrines of their respective denominations; and with a view to obviate that species of animosity which attention to religious distinction engenders; no books on religious controversy, tracts, or catechisms are admitted into the schools. The Scriptures, without note or comment, in the English and Irish languages, when the pupils are advanced to the fifth or senior reading class; and not before: the Society's spelling tablets and books, grammars and dictionaries, and the necessary publications on arithmetic, book-keeping, and the mathematics, are alone admissible.

Remuneration of Teachers. — No fixed salary is paid the teachers. Their remuneration is made to depend upon the number, attendance and proficiency of the pupils; which is ascertained by a quarterly inspection made by the society's inspector: the master is then paid the sum he appears to be entitled to according to this rule.

The Daily Roll and Class Paper. — In order to ascertain the attendance or non-attendance of the pupils, and the proficiency made by each, the society provides every teacher with a daily roll and class-paper. To ensure the correctness of the entries in the class-paper, on which so much depends, no schools are opened but by an inspector, who, on a careful examination of the pupils, determines their classification.

Instructions in reading Irish. — The art of reading Irish in the Roman and Celtic characters, is taught all pupils who desire it; and all masters, in districts where

the Irish is the common language of the adult population, *are required to* form Irish classes.

Opening Schools. — The regulations now adopted by the society, in reference to the establishment of new schools, are these: — They engage to open a school, pay the salary of a master, provide books and inspection, on any gentleman or clergyman stipulating that he will contribute, either by himself or friends, not less than six pounds per annum, and provide a school-house and furniture.

Evening Schools. — The society permit their teachers to hold evening-schools for the benefit of the more adult population in the neighbourhood, whose early education has been neglected.

Arrangement of the Schools, and Methods of teaching. — The plan of organizing the schools, and the modes of teaching (adopted by the society's inspectors,) by D. M'Ewen, is to be had at the booksellers: it is a small, but very valuable publication, and will be found very useful to any lady or gentleman interested in the instruction of the poor.

Donations.

	£	s.	d.
Duke of Devonshire	50	0	0
Marquess of Lansdowne	50	0	0
Marquess of Thomond	11	7	6
Earl of Shannon	11	7	6
Earl of Cork and Orrery	50	0	0
Lord Carbery	11	7	6
Hon. Robert Smith, M. P.	100	0	0
John Smith Barry, Esq.	11	7	0

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Page 84.

Bull of Adrian IV.

ADRIAN the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his most dear son in Christ, the noble king of England, sendeth greeting and apostolic benediction. Your magnificence hath been very careful and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here in earth, and encrease the number of saints and elect in Heaven; in that, as a good catholick king, you have and do by all means labour and travel to enlarge and increase God's church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and Christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting up the weeds of sin and wickedness: and wherein you have and do crave, for your better furtherance, the help of the Apostolic see (wherein more speedily and discreetly you proceed), the better success we hope God will send; for all they, which of a fervent zeal and love in religion do begin and enterprize any such thing, shall no doubt in the end have a good and prosperous success. And as for Ireland, and all other islands where Christ is known, and the Christian religion received, it is out of all doubt, and your excellency well knoweth, they do all appertain and belong to the right of St. Peter, and of the church of Rome: and we are so much the more ready, desirous and willing to sow the acceptable seed of God's word, because we know the same in the latter day will be most severely required at your hands. You have (our well beloved son in Christ) advertised and signifyed unto us

that you will enter into the land and realm of Ireland, to the end to bring them to obedience unto law, and under your subjection, and to root out from among them their foul sins and wickednesses; as also to yield and pay yearly out of every house, a yearly pension of one penny to St. Peter; and besides also will defend and keep the rites of those churches whole and inviolate. We, therefore, well allowing and favouring this your godly disposition, and commendable affection, do accept, ratifie, and assent unto this your petition, and do grant that you (for the dilating of God's church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of manners, the planting of virtue, and the encreasing of Christian religion) do enter to possess that land; and there to execute, according to your wisdom, whatsoever shall be for the honour of God and the safety of the realm; and further also we do strictly charge and require, that all the people of that land do, with all humbleness, dutifulness and honour, receive and accept you as their liege lord and sovereign; reserving and excepting the right of holy church to be inviolably preserved, as also the yearly pension of Peter-pence, out of every house, which we require to be truly answered to St. Peter and the church of Rome. If, therefore, you do mind to bring your godly purpose to effect, endeavour to travail to reform the people to some better order and trade of life; and that also by yourself, and by such others as you shall think meet, true, and honest, in their life, manners, and conversation; to the end the church of God may be beautified, the true Christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things done that by any means shall or may be to God's honour and salvation of men's souls; whereby you may in the end receive of God's hands the reward of ever-

lasting life, and also in the meantime, and in this life, carry a glorious fame, and an honourable report among all nations.

Confirmation of the former by Alexander III.

ALEXANDER the bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to his dearly beloved Son, the noble king of England, greeting, grace and apostolic benediction. For as much as things given and granted upon good reason by our predecessors are to be well allowed of, ratified and confirmed, we, well considering and pondering the grant and privilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland *to us appertaining*, and lately given by Adrian our predecessor, we, following his steps, do in like manner confirm, ratifie and allow the same; reserving and saving to St. Peter and to the church of Rome, the yearly pension of one penny out of every house, as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also that the barbarous people of Ireland, by your means, be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conversation; that, as in name, so in life and manners they may be Christians; and that as that rude and disordered church being by you reformed, the whole nation may also with the possession of the name be in acts and deeds followers of the same.

ANCIENT CHURCH OF IRELAND. Page 98.

See upon this head, *Ledwich*, *Usher*, *Bede*, *Ware*, &c.

COLLEGE OF MAYNOOTH. Page 111.

THE establishment of Maynooth accommodates 200 students with lodgings, affords them commons and instruction, supplies them in the public halls with coals and candles during studying hours. Each student pays 9*l.* 2*s.* entrance money, provides himself with clothes, books, bedding and chamber furniture, pays for washing, mending, and candle light for his room. This expense may be moderately estimated at 20*l.* per annum.

Each student, before admission, must deliver to the President authentic certificates of his age, parentage, baptism, and of having taken the oath of allegiance, together with the recommendation of his prelates. He is then examined in the classics, and admitted, if approved by the major part of the examiners.

The following is the course of study pursued in this seminary:

Humanity. — Under class, Latin and Greek; Sallust, Virgil, and Horace explained. Exercise; select passages from Goldsmith's Roman History, occasionally translated into Latin. Portions of the Greek Testament; Lucian and Zenophon construed and explained.

Belles Lettres — or first class of Greek and Latin; Greek Gospel of St. Luke, Acts of the Apostles, Epistles of St. Paul, Homer, Epictetus, Zenophon explained, &c.

Latin. — Cicero's Orations, Offices; Livy, part of

Seneca, Pliny's Letters, Horace explained, &c. The rules of Latin versification.

Philosophy. — Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics. The professor obliged, from the paucity of books, to compile the treatise, and dictate the same to his scholars. — Books — Leguy's Philosophy, Lock.

Natural and Experimental Philosophy. — Different branches of Elementary Mathematics, Algebra, Geometry, Conic Sections, Astronomy, Mechanics, Optics, Hydraulics, &c.; Chemistry.

Divinity. — First course, De Religione: second, De Incarnatione et Ecclesia: third, De Sacramentis in genere; De Eucharistia: — The Professor obliged to compile treatises on these subjects, chiefly from the following works, Hook, Bailly, Le Grand, (Parisiis, 1774;) Tournely, N. Alexander, P. Collet, &c. He dictates his courses.

Moral. — First course, — De Actibus Humanis, De Conscientia, De Peccatis, De Matrimonio. — Book, Paul Antoine. — Second course, — De Legibus, De Virtutibus theol. et moral, De Sacramento Pœnitentiæ: Petrus Collett. — Third course, De Jure et Justitia, De Contractibus, De Obligatione Statuum, De Censuris, &c.: Continuator Tournillii.

There is no regular professor at present of Sacred Scripture; but a portion of the New Testament is committed to memory every week: the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles are explained from Dom-Calmet, Maldonatus, Esthius, the Synopsis Criticorum, and other Biblical expounders.

Modern Languages. — English, — Murray's Grammar, Usher's Elocution, Sheridan, Walker.

Irish, — M'Curtin's Grammar, Irish Testament explained, Fragments translated into English.

French, — Grammar, Fenelon, Massilon, &c.

The following is the Establishment in regard to Professorships as it stood in 1808.

A President General, Governor of College	£227 10	Commons, groceries, use of a servant.
A Vice Pres. Gen. Governor	85 —	Commons.
A Dean	85 —	Lodging, fire, and candles.
A Procurator or Bursar	106 —	Ditto.
A Professor of Dogmatic Theology	106 —	Ditto.
A Professor of Moral Theology	106 —	Ditto.
A Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy	85 —	Ditto.
A Professor of Logic	85 —	Ditto.
A Professor of Belles Lettres	85 —	Ditto.
A Professor of Greek and Latin	75 —	Ditto.
Lecturer of Dogmatic Theology	75 8	Ditto.
Lecturer of Moral Theology	75 —	Ditto.
Lecturer in Logic	55 —	Ditto.
Professor of English Elocution	100 —	None.
Professor of the Irish Language	75 —	Commons.
Treasurer and Secretary to the Trustees	79 12 6	None.
Physician	56 17 6	
An Agent	300 — —	

We take these particulars from Mr. Wakefield's book. We have the same objection to this college that we have to that of Dublin: it is an exclusive college, supported by public funds. Like all other colleges, it looks well upon paper. But it has this great advantage over that of Dublin; it is not rich. Indeed, we think that it is too poor. If the college is to be supported at all, it should be placed upon a better footing.

ORANGE SOCIETIES.

"*The Glorious Memory.*" Page 127.

We should hardly think this *Orange* toast worth adverting to, if it graced the vulgar carousings of common councilmen and corporators only. But as, occasionally, some of the landed gentry condescend to mix in these foul orgies, we beg to inform them, that the "glorious memory" is nothing more than the memory of those transactions by which they acquired their estates, and the former possessors lost them; that as regarding themselves, it is exceedingly imprudent to revert to those things; and as regarding the descendants of the dispossessed, exceedingly ungenerous.*

"Why," says Mr. Burke, "revive the bitter memory of every dissension which has torn to pieces their miserable country for ages? After what has passed in 1782, one would not think that decorum, to say nothing of policy, would permit them to call up by magic charms the grounds, reasons, and principles of those terrible confiscatory and exterminatory periods. They would not set men upon calling from the quiet sleep of death any Samuel, to ask him, by what act of arbitrary monarchs, by what inquisitions of corrupted tribunals, and tortured jurors; by what fictitious tenures, invented to

* This reasoning does not apply to the few persons of ancient Irish race who are to be found amongst the ranks of the Orange-men; these men are too stupid for argument, almost too mean for contempt, and utterly below our indignation.

dispossess whole unoffending tribes, and their chieftains: they would not conjure up the ghosts from the ruins of castles and churches to tell, for what attempt to struggle for the independence of an Irish legislature, and to raise armies of volunteers without regular commissions from the Crown in support of that independence, the estates of the old Irish nobility and gentry had been confiscated? They would not wantonly call on those phantoms to tell by what English acts of Parliament, forced upon two reluctant kings, the lands of their country were put up to a mean and scandalous auction in every goldsmith's shop in London; or chopped in pieces and cut into rations, to pay the mercenary soldiery of a regicide usurper. They would not be so fond of titles under Cromwell, who, if he avenged an Irish rebellion against the sovereign authority of the Parliament of England, had himself rebelled against that very Parliament, whose sovereignty he asserted, full as much as the Irish nation, which he was sent to subdue and confiscate, could rebel against that Parliament, or could rebel against the King, against whom, both he and the Parliament he served, and which he betrayed, had both of them rebelled."

Burke's Letter to his Son.

MAGISTRACY.

Administration of Justice.

A REFORM of the magistracy has been long called for in Ireland. It is universally agreed that such a reform is absolutely necessary. Without it the laws will continue to be disregarded and disliked; and no system of government can be effectually administered. The people know the magistrates to be partial and corrupt very frequently; and they know the law to be defective, expensive, and ill-administered; and their contempt of both induces them constantly to redress themselves by violent and summary means. Their idea of the law generally is, that it is whatever the magistrate may choose to make it. And they are not always wrong. The Assistant Barrister's Court is often such a scene of confusion, perjury, and riot, as to be a most melancholy mockery of justice. Whatever the size of the counties may be, there is but one assistant barrister for each; whether it be Dublin, with an area of about 200 square miles, or Cork, having about 1600. Surely this is an absurd arrangement. The consequence is, that in the larger counties it is impossible to get through the business. Added to this is the nuisance of profligate attornies, who prey upon the poor. The judge perhaps has been appointed, not for his fitness, but because some friend or patron had parliamentary interest. Between a careless or incapable judge, an overwhelming mass of business, and a crowd of wrangling and cheating attornies, woe to the wretch whose rights or property are tossed upon the surge of this wild ocean, the deafening clamour of which gives notice afar off that the work of ruin is raging!

The assistant barrister for the county of Cork holds his court at four or five towns within the county: nevertheless some of the suitors at his court are compelled to travel fifty or sixty Irish miles, to obtain a chance of redress, or a chance of defending themselves against injustice. It is, however, often better to submit to wrong than incur the expense of such a journey, witnesses' attendance, &c. &c. The matter in dispute is perhaps, in value, greatly below the probable amount of the expenses; and thus a large portion of the population are placed without the pale of the law. As a substitute for legal process, execution, &c. the peasantry in some parts of this country have agreed to proceed, in cases of debt, by removing the cattle of the debtor: in the first instance, a horse or cow is stolen and secreted; and it is then intimated, that restitution may be had, by paying the debt due. This is accordingly done; and the cattle are restored, and the matter adjusted without attorney's bill or costs of suit.

But the construction of the Barrister's Court has a more serious inconvenience than that of driving the people out of it. The first process out of this court is to serve a notice of action on the party defendant. The service must be proved and sworn to; and then if the party does not appear, judgment is awarded against him, and execution issues without delay. It is a common mode of robbery to take proceedings against persons in remote parts of the county, on whom no notice has been served, to prove notice by perjured witnesses, obtain judgment, and proceed to execution and sale of the effects of some innocent person, who has no means of resistance or redress. The robber is soon gone with his spoil. Such enormities could only occur where

the remoteness of the judicature, and the multiplicity, rapidity, and irregularity of the business, serve to make all the proceedings dark and doubtful, and tending rather to frustrate than advance the ends of justice. That the laws should be respected and obeyed, it is necessary to bring them near the homes of the people; and that the administration of justice should be conducted with some integrity and ability, and decency. Attornies should be prohibited from examining witnesses and making speeches in court. And there should be an assistant barrister, not for every county, but for every two or three hundred square miles.

The Irish government has been long acquainted with the inadequacy and defects of the Assistant Barrister's Courts. And yet this grievance has gone on increasing from day to day; until at length the people have nearly risen up in tumult, to shake off all the restraints of law and government. It is astonishing, that the remedy of this great evil should have been so long delayed — it was no party question; there was nothing Catholic or Protestant about it. It was not a question of finance, — any additional expense attending the improvement of the courts of justice, would have been cheerfully submitted to. Why then not give the people that which was confessedly most wanting in Ireland, — a pure and effectual, and cheap administration of justice?

With respect to MAGISTRATES, — we would recommend that the clergy should not be magistrates. This would deprive the country of some useful justices of the peace; but the advantages of such a general rule would greatly outweigh the inconveniences. It is necessary for the well being of the Church, that the clergy be speedily

withdrawn from these secular concerns, which have engrossed them too much, and called them too much away from their more peculiar and important duties. It is necessary for the peace of the country, that no persons having an interest in tithes should be in the magistracy. It is enough, that the country endures the enormous grievance of the Ecclesiastical Court, — that remnant of barbarism and reproach to modern jurisprudence. The sole purpose of this antiquated clerical tribunal seems to be, to tease the people by the folly of their proceedings, and to strip them by their expense. It is enough, that here clerical people decide in clerical cases, and make the parties who are rash enough to bring such cases before them, to repent of their temerity.

The clerical magistrate, if he does not sit in judgement on such cases, has abundant means of bringing his magisterial influence in aid of the collection of his tithe, or of his extortion, if he be an unjust man. He is too deeply interested in the question so frequently at issue between the people and his order. Still less should the tithe proctor be a magistrate; or any man who has ever been a dealer in tithes; or the Orange man. To these excluded classes, we would add the middle man, or rather land jobber, or professed dealer in land. This man should never be found on the bench of justices. Yet the magistracy of Ireland abounds with persons of all these descriptions. Such a reform as we have here suggested might be made at once; would save a tedious and difficult enquiry into character; and would be found, we are persuaded, very efficacious.

It has been proposed to prohibit magistrates from acting, except when assembled at sessions, (and except in

certain cases), and that they should be compelled to hold frequent sessions at regular times and places. This has been proposed on the principle, that corrupt magistrates would be deterred from doing that in a crowd, which they would not blush to do in private. We have no doubt, that this regulation would be useful, and have a good effect. But it would be still better to reform the magistracy. Or both these measures might be adopted. With a corrupt, or inadequate, or partizan magistracy, there can be no peace in the country. The execution, or the non-execution of the laws, rests with the magistracy. These also possess that formidable power of taxing the county, under the head of presentments, either as grand jurors, or as justices at sessions, and the perilous discretion of the insurrection act. No magistracy in any country have need to be so pure and so perfect as that of Ireland; and yet they are confessedly and notoriously inefficient and impure! And all this has been known and acknowledged for years, and still the matter remains unchanged.

GRAND JURIES.

It is absolutely necessary to relieve the people from the excessive taxation of grand juries. This tax, we have somewhere stated, amounted, about forty years ago, to about six or seven shillings on each townland. During the war it rose as high as 20*l.*; and now, in the south of Ireland, it is about 12*l.* or 13*l.*—yet there is more poverty and distress in the country now, than there was forty years since, and the people are less able to bear taxation. The difficulty is, in part, that the price of labour has not fallen in proportion to the reduction in the price of subsistence; and that there are a much greater number of roads to be kept in repair; but, chiefly, that it has been found extremely difficult to bring down to a reasonable level what is called the "County Establishments;" salaries of county and corporate officers, &c. &c. Upon this head, vigorous measures should be adopted; for the people will not endure the burdens they labour under: we should propose that, instead of the judge's fiat, an open and general county-court should be substituted, at which all monies to be levied upon the county should be proposed after having passed the grand jury, and be confirmed or rejected: this would be useful, because there are always persons to be found, who, in open court, will attend to the public interest, but would not incur the expense of traversing presentments; because presentments are never traversed, except by persons whose interests are immediately and materially affected; because judges are, of necessity, ignorant upon the locali-

ties and circumstances which give to presentments their character of job or usefulness; and because there is not the time or attention, at the end of a fatiguing assizes, which such matters require. Judges therefore must be led by the representations made to them. Many things also which appear under a veil in the closed chamber of a grand jury, and which are saved from exposure by the reserve and timidity of individuals, must appear uncovered and in their true colours in the open air of a crowded court. Grand juries, like higher bodies, require the supervision of the public.

As far as relates to roads, we do not see why the practice which has so long prevailed in England, may not be adopted in the other country. In England, the great mail-coach roads are kept in repair by turnpikes; and the cross-roads, and other roads of less consequence, are repaired by the parishes: this prevents county-rates from becoming intolerably burdensome, as in Ireland. The parishes can do that at a small expense which, done by the county, would cost immense sums. By immediate attention, when repairs become necessary, money is saved, and the public is served. A small district, too, will do the work in its own vicinity at a much cheaper rate, when the expense is to be levied on that district exclusively, than if it were to be defrayed out of the stock-purse of the county. The county, especially if it be a large county, like a rich individual, does all its work expensively; and like such an individual too, is, for the most part, plundered by all it employs. Small districts are, like persons of small fortune, obliged to attend to their own business, and see that it is done upon the lowest terms possible. The roads should, therefore, be given to the care of the

parishes, and managed by vestries and committees of the inhabitants, who should be compelled to keep them in repair, as in England.

Elective Franchise.

NOTHING can be more excellent than the *principle* of the British constitution. But our admiration of the principle is very inconsistent with our pertinacious adherence to the abuse. Time has introduced many abuses altogether inconsistent with the principle. And yet, those who are loudest in their praise of the latter, are frequently also the most strenuous in their defence of the former. The respect we have for the principle covers the abuse of it.

It was the intention of the old law that those only should vote for members to serve in parliament who were independent in point of property. But the qualification formerly fixed no longer secures its object. We should therefore adjust the qualification so as to obtain what has been lost in the lapse of ages. We should go back to the principle of the constitution.

Forty shilling freeholders are a grievance in Ireland. Not so much a political grievance as a moral and social one. It has led to too minute a subdivision of land. We do not approve of the cottier system, which has been the fashion for some time past. Nor the small farm system, which also has had its portion of fashionable popularity. Both these systems are injurious to

the country, generally, as they prevent the cultivation of the ground with sufficient skill and capital. Small farmers have not the means to cultivate the ground with advantage. And both these and cottiers generally would be much better and more comfortably disposed of as labourers to large farmers with sufficient capital.

The electioneering system, and the middle-man system, or the sub-letting system, have tended powerfully to impoverish the country. A great deal of the present poverty of the country is the poverty of the land, which has been farmed for years without capital of any kind.

If the law qualifying electors were altered, so as to vest this privilege of voting for members of parliament in persons paying a certain rent, no matter what may be the tenure, or whether for house or land, it would have a salutary effect. The law as it stands is absurd. It is especially so in Ireland, where there are large properties held at small head rents for terms of hundreds and thousands of years. The owner of such estates cannot vote, while the wretched tenant of half an acre of potatoe ground possesses the privilege, if he hold only for his life. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon such a system. But it is astonishing, that while the abuse and the injury, like many others in Ireland, have been acknowledged constantly and repeatedly, they have, nevertheless, continued without any effort at a remedy. When we have stated the evil and lamented it, we sit down content with our candour and judgement — and do nothing.

The Civil and Military Articles of Limerick. Page 221.

GULIELMUS et Maria, Dei gratia Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ, rex et regina, fidei defensores, &c. omnibus ad quos præsentes literæ nostræ pervenerint, salutem: inspeximus irrotulament. quarumd. literarum patentium de confirmatione geren. dat. apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quarto die Februarii ultimi præteriti in cancellar. nostr. irrotulat. ac ibidem de recordo remanen. in hæc verba. William and Mary, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Whereas certain articles bearing date the third day of October last past, made and agreed on between our justices of our kingdom of Ireland, and our general of our forces there, on the one part, and several officers there commanding within the city of Limerick in our said kingdom on the other part. Whereby our said justices and general did undertake that we should ratify those articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same should be ratified and confirmed in parliament.

The tenour of which said articles is as follows, viz. Articles agreed upon the 3d. of October, 1691, between the Right Honourable Sir Charles Porter, Knight, and Thomas Connings by, Esq., Lords Justices of Ireland, and His Excellency the Baron de Ginckle, Lieutenant General and Commander-in-Chief of the English army, on the one part; and the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Galloway, Colonel Nicholas Purcel, Colonel Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Colonel Garret Dillon, and Colonel John Brown, on the other part, in behalf of the Irish inhabitants in the city and county of Limerick, the counties of Clare, Kerry, Cork,

Sligo and Mayo. In consideration of the surrender of the city of Limerick, and other agreements made between the said Lieutenant General Ginckle, the governor of the city of Limerick, and the generals of the Irish army, bearing date with these presents, for the surrender of the said city, and submission of the said army, it is agreed that,

1. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second; and their majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them upon the account of their said religion.

2. All the inhabitants or residents of Limerick, or any other garrison now in the possession of the Irish, and all officers and soldiers now in arms under any commission of King James, or those authorised by him to grant the same, in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo, or any of them; and all the commissioned officers in their majesty's quarters, that belong to the Irish regiments now in being, that are treated with; and who are not prisoners of war or have taken protection, and who shall return and submit to their majesties' obedience, and they and every of them, shall hold, possess, and enjoy all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance, and all the rights, titles, and interests, privileges and immunities, which they, and every or any of them, held, enjoyed, or were rightfully and lawfully intitled to, in the reign of King

Charles the Second, or at any time since, by the laws and statutes that were in force in the reign of King Charles the Second, and shall be put in possession, by order of government, of such of them as are in the king's hands, or the hands of his tenants, without being put to any suit or trouble therein; and all such estates shall be freed and discharged from all arrears of crown-rents, quit-rents, and other public charges incurred and become due since Michaelmas 1688, to the day of the date thereof. And all persons comprehended in this article shall have, hold, and enjoy all their goods and chattels, real and personal, to them or any of them belonging, and remaining either in their own hands, or the hands of any person whatsoever in trust for or for the use of them or any of them; and all and every the said persons, of what profession, trade, or calling soever they be, shall and may use, exercise, and practise their several and respective professions, trades and callings, as freely as they did use, exercise, and enjoy the same in the reign of King Charles the Second: provided that nothing in this article contained be construed to extend to or restore any forfeiting person now out of the kingdom, except what are hereafter comprised: provided also, that no person whatsoever shall have or enjoy the benefit of this article that shall neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by act of parliament of England in the first year of the reign of their present majesties, when thereunto required.

3. All merchants or reputed merchants of the city of Limerick, or of any other garrison now possessed by the Irish, or of any town or place in the counties of Clare or Kerry, who are absent beyond the seas, that have not borne arms since their majesties' declaration in

February 1688, shall have the benefit of the second article, in the same manner as if they were present; provided such merchants and reputed merchants do repair into this kingdom within the space of eight months from the date hereof.

4. The following officers, viz. Colonel Simon Lutterel, Captain Rowland White, Maurice Eustace of Yermanstown, Chievers of Maystown, commonly called Mount Leinster, now belonging to the regiments in the aforesaid garrisons and quarters of the Irish army, who were beyond the seas, and sent thither upon affairs of their respective regiments, or the army in general, shall have the benefit and advantage of the second article; provided they return hither within the space of eight months from the date of these presents, and submit to their majesties' government, and take the above mentioned oath.

5. That all and singular the said persons comprised in the second and third article, shall have a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, præmunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, by them or any of them committed since the beginning of the reign of King James II.; and if any of them are attainted by parliament, the lords justices, and general will use their best endeavours to get the same repealed by parliament, and the outlawries to be reversed gratis, all but writing-clerks' fees.

6. And whereas these present wars have drawn on great violence on both parts; and that if leave were given to the bringing of all sorts of private actions the ani-

mosities would probably continue, that have been too long on foot, and the public disturbances last; for the quieting and settling therefore of this kingdom, and avoiding those inconveniences which would be the necessary consequence of the contrary, no person or persons whatsoever, comprised in the foregoing articles, shall be sued, molested, or impleaded at the suit of any party or parties whatsoever for any trespasses by them committed, or for any arms, houses, money, goods, chattels, merchandizes, or provision whatsoever by them seized or taken during time of war. And no person or persons whatsoever, in the second or third articles comprised, shall be sued, impleaded, or made accountable for the rents or mean rates of any lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses, by him or them received or enjoyed in this kingdom, since the beginning of the present war to the day of the date hereof, nor for any waste or trespass by him or them committed in any such lands, tenements, or houses; and it is also agreed, that this article shall be mutual and reciprocal on both sides.

7. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third shall have liberty to ride with a sword and case of pistols, if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses for the defence of the same or fowling.

8. The inhabitants and residents in the city of Limerick, and other garrisons, shall be permitted to remove their goods, chattels, and provisions out of the same, without being viewed or searched, or paying any manner of duties, and shall not be compelled to leave the houses or lodgings they now have for the space of six weeks next ensuing the date hereof.

9. The oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics, as submit to their majesties' government, shall be the oath above said, and no other.

10. No person or persons who shall at any time hereafter break these articles or any of them, shall thereby make or cause any other person or persons to forfeit or lose the benefit of the same.

11. The lords justices and general, do promise to use their utmost endeavours, that all the persons comprehended in the above-mentioned articles shall be protected and defended from all arrests and executions for debt or damage for the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

12. Lastly, the lords justices and general, do undertake that their majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months next ensuing the date hereof.

13. And whereas Colonel John Brown stood indebted to several Protestants by judgments of record, which appearing to the late government, the Lord Tyrconnel and Lord Lucan took away the effects the said John Brown had to answer the said debts, and promised to clear the said John Brown of the said debts, which effects were taken for the public use of the Irish, and their army; for freeing the said Lord Lucan of his said engagement passed on their public account, for payment of the said Protestants, and for preventing the ruin of the said John Brown, and for satisfaction of his creditors, at the instance of the Lord Lucan and the rest of the persons aforesaid, it is agreed that the said lords

justices, and the said Baron de Ginckle shall intercede with the king and parliament to have the estates secured to Roman Catholics by articles and capitulation in this kingdom, charged with and equally liable to the payment of so much of the said debts as the said Lord Lucan, upon stating accounts with the said John Brown, shall certify under his hand that the effects taken from the said John Brown amount to; which account is to be stated, and the balance certified by the said Lord Lucan, in one and twenty days after the date hereof: for the true performance hereof we have hereunto set our hands,

Present — SCRAVEMORE. CHARLES PORTER.
H. MACCAY. THO. CONINGSBY.
T. TALMASH. Bar. DE GINCKLE.

And whereas the said city of Limerick hath been since, in pursuance of the said articles surrendered unto us. Now know ye, that we having considered of the said articles, are graciously pleased hereby to declare that we do for us, our heirs, and successors, as far as in us lies, ratify and confirm the same, and every clause, matter, and thing therein contained. And as to such parts thereof, for which an act of parliament shall be found to be necessary, we shall recommend the same to be made good by parliament, and shall give our royal assent to any bill or bills that shall be passed by our two houses of parliament to that purpose. And whereas it appears unto us, that it was agreed between the parties to the said articles, that after the words Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, Mayo, or any of them, in the second of the said articles, the words following, viz. " and all such as are under their protection in the said counties," should be inserted and be part of the said articles, which words having been casually omitted by the writer,

the omission was not discovered till after the said articles were signed, but was taken notice of before the second town was surrendered; and that our said justices, and general, or one of them, did promise that the said clause should be made good, it being within the intention of the capitulation, and inserted in the foul draft thereof; Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby ratify and confirm the said omitted words, viz., "us, our heirs, and successors, ordaining and declaring that all and every person and persons therein concerned, shall and may have, receive, and enjoy the benefit thereof in such and the same manner as if the said words had been inserted in their proper place in the said second article any omission, defect, or mistake in the said second article in anywise notwithstanding; provided always, and our will and pleasure is, that these our letters patent shall be enrolled in our Court of Chancery in our said kingdom of Ireland, within the space of one year next ensuing.

In witness, &c. Witness ourself at Westminster the twenty-fourth day of February, anno regni regis et reginæ Gulielmi et Mariæ quarto, per brevi de privato sigillo. Nos autem tenorem promissor. prædict. ad requisitionem attornat. general. Domini regis et Dominæ Reginæ pro regno Hiberniæ duximus exemplificand. per præsentes. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes: Testibus nobis ipsis apud Westmon. quinto die Aprilis annoq. regni eorum quarto.

BRIDGES.

Examinat. per nos. { S. KEEK. / LACON WM. CHILDE. } In chancel. magistros.

Military articles agreed between the Baron de Ginckle, lieutenant-general and commander-in-chief of the Eng-

lish army on the one side; and the lieutenant-general De Usson and De Tesse, commanders-in-chief of the Irish army, on the other; and the general officers hereunto subscribing.

1. That all persons, without any exceptions, of what quality or condition soever, that are willing to leave the kingdom of Ireland, shall have free liberty to go to any country beyond the seas (England and Scotland excepted) where they think fit, with their families, household stuff, plate, and jewels.

2. That all general officers, colonels, and generally all other officers of horse-dragoons and foot-guards, troopers, dragooners, soldiers of all kinds that are in any garrison, place, or post, now in the hands of the Irish, or encamped in the counties of Cork, Clare, Kerry, as also those called rapparees or volunteers, that are willing to go beyond the seas as aforesaid, shall have free leave to embark themselves, wherever the ships are, that are appointed to transport them, and to come in whole bodies as they are now composed, or in parties, companies, or otherwise, without having any impediment directly or indirectly.

3. That all persons above mentioned that are willing to leave Ireland and go into France, shall have leave to declare at the times and places hereafter mentioned, viz. the troops in Limerick on Tuesday next, in Limerick; the horse at their camp on Wednesday, and the other forces that are dispersed in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, on the 8th instant, and on none other, before Monsieur Tameron, the French intendant, and Colonel Withers; and after such declaration is made, the troops that will go into France must remain under the

command and discipline of those officers that are to conduct them thither, and deserters of each side shall be given up, and punished accordingly.

4. That all English and Scotch officers that serve now in Ireland, shall be included in the capitulation as well for the security of their estates and goods in England, Scotland, Ireland, (if they are willing to remain here,) as for passing freely into France, or any other country, to serve.

5. That all the general French officers, the intendant, the engineers, the commissaries at war and of the artillery, the treasurer, and other French officers and strangers, and all others whatsoever that are in Sligo, Ross, Clare, or in the army, or that do trade or commerce, or are otherwise employed in any kind of station or condition, shall have free leave to pass into France, or any other country, and shall have leave to ship themselves with all their horses, equipage, plate, papers, and all their effects whatever; and that General Ginckle will order passports for them, convoys and carriages by land and water, to carry them safe from Limerick to the ships, where they shall be embarked without paying any thing for the said carriages, or to those that are employed therein, with their horses, cars, boats, and shallops.

6. That if any of the aforesaid equipages, merchandize, horses, money, plate, or other moveables or household stuff belonging to the said Irish troops, or to the French officers, or other particular persons whatsoever, be robbed, destroyed, or taken away by the troops of the said general, the said general will order it

to be restored, or payment to be made according to the value that is given in upon oath by the person so robbed or plundered; and the said Irish troops to be transported as aforesaid, and all other persons belonging to them are to observe good order on their march and quarters, and shall restore whatever they shall take from the country, or make restitution for the same.

7. That to facilitate the transporting the said troops, the general will furnish fifty ships, each ship's burthen two hundred tons; for which the persons transported shall not be obliged to pay; and twenty more, if there shall be occasion without their paying for them; and if any of the said ships shall be of lesser burthen, he will furnish more in number to countervail, and also give two men of war to embark the principal officers, and serve for a convoy to the vessels of burthen.

8. That a commissary shall be immediately sent to Cork to visit the transport ships, and what condition they are in for sailing; and that as soon as they are ready, the troops to be transported then can be carried off in the said fifty ships; the rest shall quit the English town of Limerick, and shall march to such quarters as shall be appointed for them, convenient for their transportation; where they shall remain till the other twenty ships be ready, which are to be in a month, and may embark in any French ship that may come in the meantime.

9. That the said ships shall be furnished with forage for horse, and all necessary provisions to subsist the officers, troops, dragoons, soldiers, and all other persons that are shipped, to be transported into France; which

provisions shall be paid for as soon as all are disembarked at Brest or Nantz, upon the coast of Brittany, or any other part of France they can make.

10. And to secure the return of the said ships (the danger of the seas excepted) and payment for the said provisions, sufficient hostages shall be given.

11. That the garrisons of Clare Castle, Ross, and all other foot that are in garrisons in the counties of Clare, Kerry, and Cork, shall have the advantage of this present capitulation; and such parts of those garrisons as design to go beyond the seas, shall march out with their arms, baggage, drums beating, ball in mouth, match lighted at both ends, and colours flying, with all the provisions and half the ammunition that is in the said garrisons, and join the horse that march to be transported; or if then there is not shipping enough for the body of foot that is next to be transported after the horse, General Ginckle will order that they may be furnished with carriages for that purpose, and what provisions they shall want in their march, they paying for the said provisions, or else that they may take it out of their own magazines.

12. That all the troops of horse and dragoons that are in the counties of Cork and Clare, shall also have the benefit of this capitulation; and that such as will pass into France, shall have quarters given them in the counties of Clare and Kerry, apart from the troops that are commanded by General Ginckle, until they can be shipped; and within their quarters they shall pay for every thing except forage and pasture for their horses, which shall be furnished gratis.

13. Those of the garrison of Sligo that are joined to the Irish army, shall have the benefit of this capitulation; and orders shall be sent to them that are to convey them up to bring them hither to Limerick the shortest way.

14. The Irish may have liberty to transport 900 horse, including horses for the officers, which shall be transported gratis; and as for the troopers that stay behind, they shall dispose of themselves as they think fit, giving up their arms and horses to such persons as the general shall appoint.

15. It shall be permitted to those that are appointed to take care for the subsistence of the horse that are willing to go to France, to buy hay and corn, at the king's rates, wherever they can find it, in the quarters that are assigned them, without any let or molestation, and to carry all necessary provisions out of the city of Limerick; and for this purpose the general will furnish convenient carriages for them to the places where they shall be embarked.

16. It shall be lawful to make use of the hay preserved in the stores of the county of Kerry, for the horses that shall be embarked; and if there be not enough, it shall be lawful to buy hay and oats wherever it shall be found, at the king's rates.

17. That all prisoners of war that were in Ireland the 28th of September, shall be set at liberty on both sides; and the general promises to use his endeavours, that those that are in England and Flanders shall be set at liberty also.

18. The general will cause provisions and medicines to be furnished to the sick and wounded officers, troopers, dragoons, and soldiers of the Irish army that cannot pass into France at the first embarkment; and after they are cured, will order them ships to pass into France, if they are willing to go.

19. That on the signing hereof the general will send a ship express to France; and that besides he will furnish two small ships of those that are now in the river of Limerick, to transport two persons into France, that are to be sent to give notice of this treaty; and that the commanders of the said ships shall have orders to put ashore at the next port of France they shall make.

20. That all those of the said troops, officers, and others of what character soever, that would pass into France, shall not be stopped on account of debt or any other pretext.

21. If, after signing this present treaty, and before the arrival of the fleet, a French packet or other transport ship shall arrive from France in any other part of Ireland, the general will order a passport, not only for such as must go on board the said ships, but to the ships to come to the nearest port to the place where the troops to be transported shall be quartered.

22. That after the arrival of the said fleet there shall be free communication and passage between it and the quarters of the above-said troops; and especially for all those that have passes from the chief commanders of the said fleet or from Monsieur Tameron, the intendant.

23. In consideration of the present capitulation the two towns of Limerick shall be delivered and put into the hands of the general, or any other person he shall appoint, at the time and days hereafter specified, viz. the Irish town, except the magazines and hospital, on the day of the signing of these present articles; and as for the English town, it shall remain, together with the island and the free passage of Thomond bridge, in the hands of those of the Irish army that are now in the garrison, or that shall hereafter come from the counties Cork, Clare, Kerry Sligo, and other places above mentioned, until there shall be convenience found for their transportation.

24. And to prevent all disorders that may happen between the garrison the general shall place in the Irish town, which shall be delivered to him, and the Irish troopers that shall remain in the English town and island, which they may do until the troops to be embarked in the first fifty ships shall be gone to France and no longer; they shall intrench themselves on both sides to hinder the communication of the said garrisons, and it shall be prohibited on both sides to offer any thing that is offensive, and the parties offending shall be punished on either side.

25. That it shall be lawful for the said garrison to march out all at once, or at different times, as they can be embarked, with arms, baggage, drums beating, match lighted at both ends, bullet in mouth, colours flying, six brass guns, such as the besieged will chuse, two mortar pieces, and half the ammunition that is now in the magazines of the said place; and for this purpose an inventory of all the ammunition in the garrison shall be

made in the presence of any persons that the general shall appoint, the next day after these present articles shall be signed.

26. All the magazines of provisions shall remain in the hands of those that are now employed to take care of the same, for the subsistence of those of the Irish army that will pass into France; and if there shall not be sufficient in the stores for the support of the said troops whilst they stay in this kingdom and are crossing beyond seas, that upon giving up an account of their numbers, the general will furnish them with sufficient provisions at the king's rates; and that there shall be a free market at Limerick and other quarters, where the said troops shall be; and in case any provisions shall remain in the magazines of Limerick when the town shall be given up, it shall be valued, and the price deducted out of what is to be paid for the provision to be furnished to the troops on ship-board.

27. That there shall be a cessation of arms at land, as also at sea, with respect to the ships, whether English, Dutch, or French, designed for the transportation of the said troops, until they shall be returned to their respective harbours; and that on both sides they shall be furnished with sufficient passports both for ships and men; and if any sea commander or captain of a ship, or any officer, trooper, dragoon, soldier, or any other person shall act contrary to this cessation, the persons so acting shall be punished on either side, and satisfaction shall be made for the wrong is done. And officers shall be sent to the mouth of the river of Limerick to give notice to the commanders of the English and French

fleets of the present conjuncture, that they may observe the cessation of arms accordingly.

28. That for the security of the execution of this present capitulation, and of each article therein contained, the besieged shall give the following hostages — And the general shall give —

29. If, before this capitulation is fully executed there happens any change in the government or command of the army, which is now commanded by General Ginckle, all those that shall be appointed to command the same, shall be obliged to observe and execute what is specified in these articles, or cause it to be executed punctually, and shall not act contrary on account.

Baron De Ginckle.

October 19th.

PEACE. Page 245.

We extract the following, with great pleasure, from a work which has just been put into our hands. *

"*Causes of War.* — On taking a retrospect of our history, we shall find that several of the most popular as well as most substantial grounds of war, have ceased to exist. This country began to take an active part in continental politics nearly a century and a-half ago; a time when France was so preponderant, that during the reigns of William and Anne, continued exertion was necessary to preserve the independence of Europe. The wars of 1740 and 1756 owed their origin chiefly to the contending interests of Austria and Prussia. If these no longer furnish a probable ground of war, still is it less likely that we shall be involved in any contest for colonies, such as that of 1775, or in an attempt to regulate the government of our neighbours, such as that which called Europe to arms in 1793. Those views in politics, that conviction of the barren nature of military trophies, of the substantial fruits of peace, which were so long confined to the philosophic reader of history, have at last reached our cabinet, and have influenced it since 1812 in a degree greater than is generally known. The restrictive laws so long connected with our colonial system have now ceased to fascinate our rulers, and will soon cease to fascinate our merchants. Our board of trade is engaged in expung-

* Lowe on the Present State of England.

ing from our commercial code the acts most offensive to foreigners; it no longer listens to schemes of monopoly, or seeks to found our commercial prosperity, otherwise than in concurrence with that of our neighbours. The discovery of the real causes of national wealth has shown the folly of wasting lives and treasure for those colonial possessions which, during the last century, in the reign of the mercantile theory, were accounted the chief sources of commercial prosperity. It is now above forty years since the United States of America were separated from us, and since their situation has afforded a proof that the benefit of mercantile intercourse may be retained in all its extent without the care of governing, or the expense of defending, these once regretted provinces. Mexico, Peru, Chili, Brazil, the regions so much coveted by our forefathers, are now open to every flag, and never likely again to become, on commercial grounds at least, a cause of war.

"Is it necessary to add arguments to show the fallacy of expecting from war the gratification of either political or commercial ambition? If we look to France, we find her, after long considering herself the mistress of the continent, brought back to her ancient limits: if we look at home, we find our countrymen, after believing that our naval superiority, our conquests in the East and West had brought us unparalleled wealth, have made the mortifying discovery that our burdens far exceed our acquisitions, and that the only substantial addition to our resources (augmentation of population) has had little or no connexion with a state of hostility. Frederick II. of Prussia afforded perhaps the most striking instance of success arising from war, in the course of the 18th century, having acquired by it, in

the first instance, Silesia, and eventually part of Poland: yet whoever will calculate, on the one hand, the amount of his sacrifices, on the other the natural progress of population and wealth, during so long a period as his reign, (forty-five years,) will find that the increase of his power would have been fully equal, had he confined himself to the plain and direct course of remaining in peace and improving his hereditary dominions.

To follow up such a course, to surmount our financial difficulties, *and to heal the wounds of Ireland*, are, doubtless, the objects of our government. When these great points shall be attained, the magnitude of our resources will be so evident, as to dispel all apprehension of attack, not only on this country, but on the independence of the Netherlands, the maintenance of which seems now to form the only sufficient ground for our interfering in a continental contest.

IRISH DISTRESS.

To the Peasantry of those parts of Ireland to which it may be possible to send some small supplies of Clothing.

BRETHREN,

The London Committee for managing the subscription made for your assistance, have once more occasion to address you, in explanation of a contribution of clothing in their power to offer to a very limited number, but which they have not the means of enlarging to the extent of your wants, or of their own wishes.

The benevolence of many respectable ladies in England anticipated the distress and ill health which the winter might occasion to many persons who were bereft of almost every article of necessary clothing, or who had nothing to use but such articles as were, in all probability, strongly tainted with the infection of fever; and the Committee thought the view taken of your probable wants in this respect so just, and the necessity of affording some relief so urgent, that they have appropriated a considerable sum in furtherance of this attempt to assist you, well aware that during the late extraordinary pressure, no industry could have kept many among you provided with the clothing which was essential to health. The greatest part of the sum so appropriated is to be expended in Ireland; that it may produce the double advantage of affording aid to those who manufacture and prepare the clothing, as well as comfort to those who are to receive it; whilst a portion is to be laid out

in Great Britain, from whence it can be distributed, so as to afford the best and earliest relief in the districts in which it would be difficult to find the means of encouraging, or establishing, in time, any manufacture.

The Committee hope to be able to extend some small portion of this assistance to numbers, considerable in themselves, but, probably, not exceeding one in fifty of the number who have participated in the late relief.

They appeal to your good sense and good feelings, not to let this limited aid be a source of discontent, because it can go no further. Who among you would wish that great numbers should unnecessarily remain without assistance, because it is impossible that the relief should reach himself? What Irish breast will not rejoice, rather than repine, that a neighbour's sufferings are mitigated, whether his are so or not?

The distribution will likewise be a subject which will require all your generosity and candour to interpret fairly. It must in its nature be very limited. It will be administered by those valuable friends, both of yours and ours, who have hitherto assisted us both.

The fixed principle of this Committee, adopted for your sakes, has been to encourage industry among you, feeling a conviction, that without industry, neither individual happiness, nor national prosperity can exist. The distribution of clothing will therefore be governed by this principle: relief will be given as far as possible through the medium of your own industry; gratuitous aid being confined to extreme cases of the most urgent distress.

We write this in order to anticipate disappointment, and to save you the pain of a murmur, which, by explanation, we may hope to prevent. The task of distributing limited aids to extensive wants, is one both of anxiety and pain; in some respects it has been rendered less so by your character as a people, and by the confidence with which we can address both your intelligence and your feelings: we entreat you to use both on our behalf in interpreting this last testimony of our regard. We expect every thing from your kindness and generosity towards each other; and we venture to ask of you, for our ourselves, that instead of letting our limited aids be a source of jealousy or discontent, you will turn them into an occasion of shewing sentiments worthy of yourselves, and most gratifying to those who wish to love and respect you.

For the Committee,

JOHN SMITH.

The following 'Address from the Committee of the British Subscription to the Peasantry in the distressed districts in Ireland,' has been recently sent to that country.

BRETHREN,

The time is fast approaching when our supplies will cease; when we of this Committee must retire from the satisfaction of assisting you; and when, as we trust, the extraordinary distress, which alone could justify our interference, will have been alleviated.

We feel it to be, though almost the last, yet not the least act of kindness towards you, to apprize you a little before hand, of the approach of this period; and to conjure you, if our advice can have any weight, or our affectionate entreaties any influence, to cultivate that spirit of industry which can best guard you against continued want or occasional distress; together with that spirit of order and good conduct, which will invite new means of employment among you, will increase your comforts and your resources, and (what we are persuaded will be a motive with your generous minds) will best reward the exertions of your friends.

We will not attempt to tell you how your distresses have been felt in this country! how readily the British public, and many individuals in embarrassment themselves, have flown to assist them! But we may be permitted to assure you, that not the most suffering family or individual in any district has felt greater consolation in the relief afforded, than you have yourselves given to us, as often as we have heard of any of you preserved and comforted by our assistance.

May God preserve and cherish you! — may he give you the fruits of the earth and every other blessing in abundance, — and may we your brethren and fellow-subjects rejoice with you in all your welfare, as we have sympathised in your distress.

For the Committee,

JOHN SMITH, Chairman.

City of London Tavern, August 9th, 1822.

The Committee with much pleasure inform the benevolent contributors of the large sums which have been

placed at their disposal, that their recent communications afford ground for hope that the distress, which at one period was most alarming, has, through the blessing of Providence on zealous exertions, yielded to the relief poured in from all parts of Great Britain; and that at present there is no reason for fear in respect of food. The extent to which articles of clothing are now supplying, will, in some degree, alleviate sufferings which yet must be extensively felt in Ireland. The largeness of the bounty of the numerous contributors will enable the Committee to do something considerable in this respect; and they beg to assure the public that they will not relax in a zealous and faithful application of the fund with which they have the honor to be intrusted.

By Order of the Committee,

M. W. TROY, Hon. Sec.

"Be pleased to communicate this information to your friends, the benefactors of this noble subscription.

Heads of a Plan for the Encouragement of Industry in Ireland.

Irish Committee Room,
21st Sept. 1822.

The Committee finding that the first object of their attention, the provision of a supply of food for the relief of the distressed districts in Ireland, has been very generally attained, have endeavoured to appropriate the balance in their hands, for the encouragement of useful occupation among the Irish peasantry; enabling them in some degree to supply their own wants; and tending, through industry, to promote their moral improvement,

and to raise them above their present destitute condition.

From various sources of information, the best appropriation of the principal part of this balance seems to be for the encouragement of the growth of flax, and the manufacture of yarn, linen, and, perhaps, in some instances of wool, through the means of the domestic industry of the people.

This appropriation is not made in substitution of any efforts, either public or private, but for the purpose of affording additional encouragement, and removing the obstacles which seem to impede the industry of the Irish peasantry.

For this purpose, the following heads of a plan are prepared, in a full confidence that every effort will be made by all the parties, on whose co-operation their success must depend, to make the proposed institution extensively and permanently useful.

It is proposed to name nine Directors, or Auditors, in London; giving them a power of filling up vacancies in their own body, occasioned either by death or resignation. Three to be a quorum.

A Board of Trustees to be appointed in the counties of Cork, Clare, Galway, Kerry, Leitrim, Mayo, Roscommon, Sligo, Tipperary, and Limerick, not exceeding nine in number; the vacancies by death or resignation, to be filled up by the Directors. Three to be a quorum.

A Committee or Committees to be appointed by the County Trustees, of which they should be ex-officio members; together with a paid clerk or book-keeper, to act under them.

All remittances to be made by the Directors to the County Trustees.

The mode of affording encouragement to be upon the plan of the Charitable Loans, so long established, and so much approved of in various parts of Ireland. No aid to be given in money, but in flax-seed, flax, wool, yarn, or implements; estimating these articles at prime cost, and not exceeding in value to any one person, within one year, the sum of ten pounds, or the value of two looms.

The details of this plan to be carried into effect by the Committee, acting under the direction of the Trustees.

The Trustees to fix times for their own meeting; and to give a fortnight's notice of their first meeting in the public papers.

The Committee to meet at such fixed times and places as may seem expedient, for the purpose of receiving applications, and deciding upon them.

All implements, &c. thus considered as loans, to be paid for, together with five *per cent.* interest, by monthly instalments; allowing three months to pass before the payment of the first instalment; and the whole sum being paid off within twelve months.

Each person receiving assistance to become bound himself, and to give security for the punctual repayment of the principal and interest by the specified instalments.

Every application to be in writing, signed by the parties agreeing to become securities; and to be entered in a special register, together with the decision of the Committee thereon, whether—affirmative, or negative.

When assistance is given in flax-seed, flax, or yarn, the Committee to be authorized, if they shall so think fit, to receive payment in home-saved flax-seed, in flax, or yarn of a good quality; making a proportionate increase for the interest.

The accounts and vouchers to be made up in a specific form, and submitted every year to the local Trustees, in the month of January; to be attested on oath by the clerk, certified by the Committee; and a copy thereof to be laid before the Directors in London, on or before the first of March in every year.

Any person failing in making good his instalment, to be proceeded against, either in his own person, or by his sureties, at the quarter-session next ensuing his default; and to become, in case any costs are incurred by reason of his non-payment, incapable of receiving any relief in future.

Local contributions to be collected by the Trustees and Committee in aid of these objects.

FAIRS.

THE number of fairs held in Ireland is far greater than the business of the country requires. Gentlemen wishing to have fairs upon their estates, have multiplied these nuisances. Those fairs, however, which are really *business* fairs, are well known in the country, and are attended for the purpose of buying and selling. Others, which are frequented solely, or chiefly, for the purpose of drinking, fighting, gaming, and other immoralities, are also well known, and should be suppressed without delay. The effects of one of these fairs continue to disturb a whole district for a long period, and until they are renewed and aggravated by the following fair. Thus a perpetual disturbance is kept up. The idleness occasioned by these is another serious evil; added as it is to the numerous holidays of the church of Rome. The peasant, who pays the tribute of idleness and drunkenness to half the saints in the calendar, and thinks himself also bound to visit all the fairs within seven miles of him, has great deductions to make from the time which ought to be devoted to industry. The effects of the fair are frequently broken bones, or sickness, or suits at sessions; and sometimes transportation and hanging — or flying from home, and lurking for months and years in hiding-places. Half the outrages committed in Ireland originate at fairs, and are the vengeance taken for insults and aggressions there: the party which is too weak to make successful battle, is yet strong enough for revenge, where darkness or loneliness offers opportunity. This abuse has been too long neglected.

FISHERIES.

IRELAND is indebted to Mr. Grant for the first serious effort to improve her fisheries. Mr. Grant's measure, however, can hardly be looked upon in any other light than as an experiment. It has not as yet been attended with all the good effects which might have been expected from it. We have heard it said, that the board is not efficient, and that they do not possess adequate means. Whatever be the cause, or wherever be the fault, it is certain the measure does not work well. There is a want of salt, and a want of capital; both these should be remedied, by establishing *depots* of salt in proper places; and by establishing a fund for the purpose of making small loans to fishermen or dealers in salt, to be repaid with interest. We are persuaded that this is almost all that need be done; and that it could be done with safety and advantage. All troublesome regulations, duties, drawbacks, and bounties, should be got rid of.

THE END.

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